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The Nation

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The Week

THE news from Germany continues to be fragmentary, and the outside world is permitted to know little of the movements which are agitating the country. The reported outbreak of the Liebknecht forces at Berlin undoubtedly indicates the existence of organized opposition to the Ebert-Haase Government; how serious the opposition is, however, or how far it has taken form outside of the capital, is not yet clear. Any spread of the Bolshevist spirit, of which the radical or independent Socialists are the embodiment, is a serious matter at this juncture, and can hardly fail to strengthen, in the Allied countries if not in the conservative circles of Germany itself, the call for Allied or American military intervention. On the other hand, the report that returned soldiers are giving their support in various places to the existing revolutionary Government, and are exerting themselves to put down violence, is encouraging; for while the soldiers are probably able to take complete control wherever they choose, they have thus far shown no disposition to upset the present temporary order of things and establish a military dictatorship. The action of Herr Ebert in declining to assume the Presidency of a German Republic without the approval of a Constituent Assembly has also made a favorable impression. It now seems probable that an assembly of some kind will convene this month instead of in February. Some of the most disturbing influences come from without, in the reported determination of the Allies to insist upon the surrender of the Kaiser by Holland, and the demands for huge indemnities which it is said the peace conference will be asked to endorse. The most optimistic German must feel that the outlook for leniency, or even for an opportunity for Germany to work out its own salvation without interference, is dark.

IT is many a century since Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his "Praise of Folly." Our European "special correspondents" are adding a few supplementary chapters. For more than a year they have been telling us of the wickedness of Lenine and Trotzky, the "traitors" who sold their country for German gold. At last we began to believe this story, together with accounts of the suffering of that noble popular hero, Karl Liebknecht, who was slowly dying in an imperial jail for having dared to raise his voice against Prussian militarism. And now behold, with a single touch of Clio's magic wand, the scene is changed. Militarism is dead. The great prophet of a joyful war enjoys the windy privacy of an island of the dreary Zuyder Zee. Lenine and Trotzky, slain countless times by assassins' bullets, are alive and seemingly prosperous and content. Liebknecht, as leader of a radical group of Socialists, has become an object of Allied denunciation. This week he is accused of having sold his country for Bolshevist money! If we understand the matter aright, the Teutonic millions that first corrupted Russia have returned to Berlin and are now corrupting the German Republic. Unless these millions come to rest the world will continue in a state of turmoil.

IN settlement of a suit filed on January 26, 1917, in behalf of the Imperial Russian Government, then in power, against the Tennessee Copper Company, Federal Judge Knox has ordered, according to press reports, the payment of $1,000,000 to the Czecho-Slovaks. The decision is said to be based upon the alleged fact that the territory under the jurisdiction of the Czecho-Slovak Government "takes in some of the territory that formerly was part of Russia." "The court's order," concludes the report, "made it possible for the money to be paid to the Czecho-Slovaks instead of the Bolshevik régime." Following close on the heels of this incident came the news that Germany had restored to the Allies, as part of a large collection of stolen goods, 300,000,000 francs in gold taken from the Russian treasury. The disposition by the Allies of this considerable sum has not yet been announced. The whole problem of Russia's money must be vexing in the extreme to Governments which are legally at peace with the Russian Government, but which are trying, by force of arms, to overthrow it. Apparently we are confronted with the embarrassing dilemma of having either consciously to help an enemy who is not an enemy, or—to give his money to the Czecho-Slovaks.

JUST to let the world know that there is still war on earth, the rioting and bloodshed in Chili and Peru appear to continue. The army reserves of Peru have been called to the colors, and two divisions of the army of Chili are being mobilized, presumably to keep order. Even the most reassuring reports from those republics make it evident that no real order can be attained until the vexed question of Tacna and Arica is settled. Peru and Bolivia demand an application of the principle of self-determination, confident that the people of the contested provinces would return to them if given a free chance. The Chilean Foreign Office seems to be considering the feasibility of applying a plébiscite according to the provisions of the Treaty of Ancon. The offer of mediation by the United States in conjunction with Argentina is reported to have been accepted by the Peruvian Government, and the boycott of Chilean vessels in Peru has been ended pending a settlement. Whether the matter is settled by some such arrangement, or whether, as was rather naïvely requested, it is submitted to the general peace conference, its connection with the world situation is clear. The people of all countries know that this is a time when old debts are being liquidated and new arrangements are in the making. No state of affairs which gives rise to irritation and discontent will be respected.

THE provisional estimates submitted to Congress last week by Secretary McAdoo show a substantial reduction in governmental expenses in prospect for the next fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919. The army estimates were cut down by the cessation of the war from a probable nineteen billion to two billion. The navy estimates, on the other hand, amount to a billion dollars more than was appropriated for this purpose during the current year. The people may be grateful that the figures are no higher. Nevertheless they may with reason inquire why they should be

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as high as they are. The prospects are that our military establishment will maintain a standing army of half a million men, and according to the best professional authorities, we shall shortly have the most powerful navy in the world. This surely seems an extraordinary outcome of a war whose avowed end was the destruction of militarism. The Allied nations who crushed Napoleon justified themselves by precisely the same grandiloquent phrases about "the reconstruction of the moral order" and "the establishment of an enduring peace"; and we now see what they amounted to. Some day, possibly, we shall learn that the prospect of gathering grapes of thorns or figs of thistles is hopeful and encouraging beside that of maintaining an enduring peace by the competitive accumulation of armaments. But our estimates seem to show that the day is not near at hand.

THE announcement of another great drive, this time for the benefit of the American Committee of Armenian and Syrian Relief, calls attention to the excellent work already done and the future plans of the committee in the Near East. A Commission to Persia, headed by Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, left last July to coöperate with and strengthen a group of workers who had been on the field for two years. They found Persia in serious condition. A year of drought, which destroyed even vegetables and fruit, and the occupation of Persian territory, from the very beginning of the war, by foreign troops, which devastated the land and requisitioned all foodstuffs, have caused famine to spread through all Persia. The war has also destroyed Persian trade, particularly the rug trade, and has brought desolation to all connected with it. The Commission found the most abject misery and no recuperative power among the people. Persia is a land rich in undeveloped natural resources, but living conditions and means of communication are as primitive as they were several centuries ago. The Commission is spending $250,000 a month, and has established many relief stations where refugees and sufferers can be fed and clothed. Further, they are bringing Ford cars, sewing machines, looms, and agricultural implements to Persia in the hope of making a permanent change in conditions by teaching the men and women some means of self-support.

IN reviewing that little classic, "Why Freedom Matters," a writer in the *New Republic* spoke thus: "The sobriety and sanity of the author of this pamphlet is eloquently attested by the growing number of his intellectual converts. No single source of illumination has contributed more to effective and astute exposition of the genuine foundations of international polity than Norman Angell." The Intercollegiate Socialist Society felt this essay to be so well worth consideration that they secured a special donation for its reprinting and sent out, in the spring or early summer, four or five hundred copies to the colleges, where, if anywhere, one might expect to speak to those whose especial business it is to judge and sift ideas. On November 26, having had no previous intimation that the pamphlets had not been received in due course, the senders got word from the Post Office Department that the pamphlets had been declared unmailable and "disposed of" as such; that is, apparently, destroyed. If we have no regard for freedom of thought, for the sanctity of the mails or for the American sense of humor, where is that sacred regard for the constitutionally protected rights of property which has annulled so many needed laws on the ground that the unrestricted right to make a contract was a property right. What is this monstrous power entrusted, in Walt Whitman's phrase, to the "never-ending audacity of elected persons"—persons in this case, however, not elected but appointed? Without advice, without notifying the sufferer, without a hearing, without appeal, not only may the threads of intercommunication be secretly cut, perhaps doing incalculable and absolutely irretrievable damage, but apparently actual physical property, without any limit to its possible value, may be not only seized for an indefinite period, but "disposed of." What is there to safeguard a unique copy of an unpublished manuscript by the greatest genius in the world from being thus disposed of if Mr. Burleson happens to disapprove it, as one of his predecessors disapproved one of Tolstoy's masterpieces?

CAN it be that the National Security League, after all its attacks on others, can not itself boast of being "100 per cent. American?" There is certainly some piquant evidence to that effect. Those who have had the opportunity to examine the material which the energetic Congressman Frear of Wisconsin has gathered, preparatory to the investigation of the funds and activities of the National Security League, report evidence showing that that superpatriotic organization was for several years, and up to last Spring, in the closest possible alliance with—of all persons—William Randolph Hearst! According to Washington reports, Mr. S. Stanwood Mencken, the founder and president of the organization, enlisted Mr. Hearst's active interest in it several years ago. Mr. Hearst declined to take a position on the board of directors but became one of the most substantial contributors. Things went merrily along until the campaign of hysteria which the League fomented last winter evolved, as almost the first of its by-products, a bitter newspaper war against Mr. Hearst, led by the New York *Tribune*. When this anti-Hearst campaign got really under way, the directors of the League were forced by the *Tribune* to join in the attack on the editor. The latter promptly forced Mr. Mencken to give the Hearst papers a more or less friendly endorsement, for which offence against the prevailing Draconian code Mr. Mencken, as all the world knows, was compelled to resign. All this is much like New York, but in Washington, where a certain rough simplicity still seems to obtain, Mr. Frear's discovery that the League has been financed by the one American editor whose position on the war has been most savagely attacked has filled the Congressional breast with amusement and scorn, as well it might. Those who know Congressman Frear best describe him as a fighter slow to action but a hard hitter when he actually strikes. His resolution demanding an investigation of the League seems to have the solid support of both parties in the House—excepting, perhaps, the thirty "lily white Congressmen" who were endorsed by the League—and the short session will probably see some pretty extensive revelations as to the funds personnel and methods of the League.

THE formation of an American Labor party seems to be assured. The plan originated, as stated in our columns last week, out of a local grievance in Chicago. It has been endorsed by the Illinois State Federation of Labor and by certain local unions in the East; and it has every prospect of success with the extreme left of the labor movement, represented by the Northwest and the Pacific coast. If it broadens its scope to include brain workers as well as

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manual workers, it can no doubt command some valuable accretions from the new National party, which seems to be in a more or less fluid state, from the Socialists, and from that section of the independent vote which is reluctant toward doctrinaire tendencies. Probably the new party will model its machinery largely after that of the old, and go on the political stage with its own candidates, tickets, and platforms. Americans seem slow to learn anything new in political methods. The two men who did most for the economic liberation of England were the two who refused to hold office under any circumstances—William Cobbett and Richard Cobden. The campaigns which were most effective for just the sort of thing that the American Labor party seems to have in mind were those of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and instead of bending its energies to electing a politician on a ticket of its own, it educated the people to its principles and made the politician of whatever party "come to taw." There is much to be said for this method; the political conversion of Sir Robert Peel is a most impressive example of its power. We should like to see it tried in this country. The nearest thing to it has been done by the National Woman's Party in behalf of universal suffrage, and its success has been sufficient, one would think, to recommend it highly. The new Labor party might well consider it. A leadership of principles and not of men, a campaign of economic policies and not of candidates, would be something almost brand-new in America and if rightly managed we believe it would command an astonishing success.

THE week's news has furnished an interesting example of our enforcement of the principle of equality before the law. Federal Judge Morrow, of San Francisco, on December 2 quashed indictments against the twenty-five men charged with having instigated the forcible deportation of twelve hundred striking miners from Bisbee, Arizona, eighteen months ago. These twenty-five men included public officials, mine owners, and members of the organization known as the "Loyalty League," and the informations against them were to the effect that they had conspired against the constitutional rights of the miners in the manner specified. We do not know upon what technicality their demurrer was sustained, but we feel certain that the collapse of the inquiry will stir a sullen and dangerous sense of grievance. A gross and scandalous outrage was committed against the striking miners, and the public is by no means convinced that a serious effort has been made to fix the responsibility for it. Meanwhile, ninety-three members of the I. W. W., some of whom were among those deported, have been sentenced to serve an aggregate term of 800 years and to pay an aggregate fine of over $2,500,000. Without laboring the contrast, we wish merely to remark once again, as often before, the extremely bad impression made upon us and others of non-partisan sympathies by the marked difference in our dealings with the two kinds or brands of suspects. The brisk and energetic certitude of our legal processes when applied to the I. W. W., as compared with their indolent and reluctant methods with the anarchist mob of "leading citizens," is utterly offensive to a natural sense of justice. It is all very well to talk about the suppression of sedition and revolution, but it is much more to the point to consider the conditions which inevitably breed them; and the history of the Bisbee affair affords a capital example, to date, of precisely such conditions.

AT the first three sessions of the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, held in New York last week, there was a distinct note of pessimism. Men who have been serving on the various boards for industrial adjustment during the war feel that the Government has let the crisis of reconstruction come without developing an effective policy; yet they are reluctant to leave the whole problem to the captains of industry. At this meeting several of them urged the immediate adoption of a national minimum wage. In this connection it is interesting to note the resolution recently passed by the Associated Merchants and Manufacturers of New York State, favoring a minimum wage law for women and minors and the appointment of a State commission to study the subject, and also favoring a Federal minimum wage law which, when enacted, shall supersede all State legislation. Professor Henry R. Seager at the Academy meeting also suggested the formation of a Federal Industrial Relations Commission whose function should be not merely the indication of evils, but the undertaking of a definite propaganda among employers and employees for adjustment through more extended use of collective bargaining.

AS to the immediate labor situation, there is a sharp divergence of view. Charles M. Schwab and Frank A. Vanderlip spoke with great hopefulness of the industrial outlook, but Mr. W. Hamilton, of the staff of the War Labor Policies Board, indicated that there is a possible discrepancy between the need for materials abroad, upon which hope the optimists base their prophecies of prosperity, and the actual demand for these goods. He fears that capital may hesitate to plunge into production until cost of raw materials goes down and until the labor market becomes sufficiently glutted to insure cheap labor. Labor, through its representatives on the conference programme, insisted that wages should not decrease, and pointed out that as a matter of fact, except in a few trades, real wages have actually decreased during the war period. Moreover, with the approach of winter, neither public works nor farms will be ready for the absorption of surplus men.

THE only Government bureau functioning at present in a really positive fashion is the United States Employment Service. This, according to Mr. Nathan A. Smyth, the assistant director, has a representative in every camp, and is working in conjunction with community labor boards throughout the country. Very recently it has formed a central committee for joint action among army, navy, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., American Federation of Labor, and other interested bodies, to find positions for returning soldiers and dislocated industrial workers. Already, Mr. Smyth reports, destitute soldiers are applying for civil relief in some of the larger cities. As he points out, the employment service can only place men; it cannot create jobs. The suggestion of failure so commonly applied to governmental boards at the Academy meeting excepted the Railway Labor Adjustment Board, which, it is hoped by many, will remain in existence. That the Government should relinquish any additional control over industry, however, was the dominant note in the utterances of Mr. Schwab and Mr. Vanderlip. That the actual effectiveness of the War Labor Board itself is at an end is plainly indicated by the recent action of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in repudiating its award with regard to collective bargaining.

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Whither Bound?

AS we write, the President is on the high seas, bound for the peace conference, and the United States is on the high seas of fate—whither bound? When President Wilson, on April 2, 1917, summoned the nation to war, we cut loose from the old moorings of continental isolation and embarked on the wild sea of European politics. We were bidden to buckle on the sword, not to gain any selfish advantage, not to promote this or that scheme of trade or profit, but to create a new world order, a system of fair dealing among the nations great and small, a system based on justice and not on force. In that spirit, we verily believe, the nation answered the unwelcome summons; our sons went forth to fight the German military power which constituted the most evident menace to the world order we believed to be right. To-day German military power lies prostrate in the dust, starved into submission by the blockade, broken against the steel wall of Allied and American bayonets, and now ground into fragments under the chariot wheels of revolution. Overwhelming military victory is ours, and it is now for the associated statesmen at Versailles to lay down the broad lines of the new order, restrained only by their own consciences and the fear of revolution. Other power there is none in the world to-day to control them. The presence of the President of the United States in the great assemblage will be the visible symbol of American participation and responsibility. We are on the seas—whither bound?

Let America read and note well the answer. It is written to-day at Versailles and London and Rome, where scheming diplomats are immensely busy parcelling out the spoils; for we are frankly informed that the preliminary secret parleys will make the actual settlement and that the conference will ratify the results, calling in the neutrals and the defeated Powers to agree to the arrangements already made. It is written in the German armistice, with Allied and American troops occupying the bridgeheads of the Rhine, with a disarmed and starving Germany vainly begging for the retention of its locomotives and freight cars and for the lifting of the blockade. It is written in the dispatches from Russia, where Allied and American troops without any declaration of war are fighting the Government of a friendly people—for the fundamental reason that that Government has repudiated the foreign debt incurred by its Czarist predecessor. It is written in the news from London and Paris, where we read of "statesmen" sitting down to figure out just how much can by any means be extorted from Germany; of responsible Cabinet Ministers declaring that no solution can be found for the problem of the German colonies but their incorporation in the British Empire; of a Prime Minister coming out squarely for imperial preference; of Winston Spencer Churchill's unequivocal declaration that British naval supremacy will be maintained at all costs, together with his demand that military conscription be abandoned; of Foreign Secretary Balfour's unblushing statement that Britain is still in "honor" bound to the iniquitous secret treaty of London and that she means to keep to the full the bargain she has made. It is written in the report of our own Secretary of the Navy, calling for a continued increase of the navy. It is written in the records of the Senate of the United States, where one Senator after another has recorded his opposition to the abatement of one jot or tittle from our national sovereignty in behalf of any league of nations, and has declared that our own unaided might must maintain our own interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. It is written in the record of those voices of narrow nationalism and selfish greed that swell in a triumphant pæan to-day from every one of the victorious nations—"that these dead shall not have died in vain." It is a peace of vengeance, of imperialism, and of loot that, so far as the people are informed, is being shaped to-day. Can one man stem the tide—one man unsupported in his own country by any compact body of liberal opinion instructed in even the first essentials of peace? Let any intelligent person set down the President's fourteen terms or any other formulation of the conditions of a just and durable peace; let him compare them point by point with what is being done to-day in every victorious capital—including Washington—as reflected even in the scanty news we are allowed to get; and let him say whether or not America is likely to become a partner in a peace that will be the negation of all that for which she was summoned to war.

And after the peace, what? Failing revolution, which in these days seems to lurk never too far away, there appear two possibilities. British and American imperialism may join hands, and the Governments of the English-speaking peoples, backed by an irresistible combined navy and a potential military strength unmatchable for the time being, will be the "league of nations," dividing the world between themselves. They will make the Anglo-American feared and hated throughout the whole earth, but for the present there will be no war. Meanwhile their people and their serfs will bear the burden of taxes and military service incident to "policing" the world—and in due time, there will come a new cataclysm. Is it in this direction that America shapes her course?

The second alternative is no less appalling. If the United States and England, instead of pooling their economic, military, and naval power for the exploitation and oppression of the rest of the world, are to enter upon a sharp industrial and commercial rivalry, accompanied by a competition in the building of battleships, then, unless all the teachings of history are vain, we are bound head on for war with England when the time is ripe. Not that we have any occasion of quarrel with the English people; on the contrary, every tie of race and institutions and ideals binds us together. Humanity's best hopes are bound up with our continued and increasing coöperation. But if we deliberately create the conditions of war, we have no right to complain when war comes. It is the imperialists of London and Liverpool, of Washington and New York, that are the enemies of America and mankind to-day. If they win the peace, we have lost the war.

Is there, then, no way of escape? Along the road that has thus far been followed, none. We have been recently informed from Paris that certain statesmen were of the opinion that the President's fourteen points "had worked as a good solvent upon Germany, that they had served their great purpose in their effect upon German unity, but that they should not be observed too closely when it came to formulating the practical details of the settlement." Are such "statesmen" to control the settlement? Our only hope is that the peoples in holy wrath will rise and scourge these money changers from the temple. If they do not, then is the future dark indeed. "The future belongs to the people"—why not the present?

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The Atlantic City Conference

THE four days' reconstruction conference of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, held at Atlantic City, December 3-6, was strictly a business affair. With the exception of a slight recognition of the industrial professions, "business" in the narrow sense, and predominantly "big business," was alone represented. There was no official representation of labor, and the farmers had no voice. Those who came together to discuss their problems and to plan for the future were almost exclusively capitalists or employers—heads of large industrial enterprises, men concerned in a large way with manufacture, or commerce, or transportation, or the development of mines or other natural resources. Save for some of the speakers at the general sessions, all the persons in attendance represented chambers of commerce or other organized business bodies, and in consequence were authorized to speak for others as well as for themselves. The conclusions of the conference, accordingly, whether embodied in formal resolutions or in addresses and discussions to which a majority of those who listened or participated obviously gave assent, may be accepted as an authoritative indication of the attitude which American business leaders of special prominence are likely to assume toward certain problems of reconstruction.

The spirit of the conference, to all outward appearance at least, was in striking contrast to that which a multitude of American commercial congresses has made familiar. No one boasted of what the United States had accomplished during the war, or of the vastness of our resources, or of the great trade conquests that awaited American enterprise in the future. Restraint rather than aggression, coöperation rather than competition, regard for the well-being of the whole community rather than the enrichment of any class, international consideration rather than a playing for national advantage, were the dominant notes. Men like Charles M. Schwab and John D. Rockefeller, jr., told great audiences of employers, with no mincing of words, that the old days of unlimited competition had passed; that employers might no longer claim the inherent right to run their businesses as they chose; that labor must not only be better and better paid, better protected, and better housed, but that it must also be consulted; that Government regulation and control must be accepted and encouraged; and that the extension of foreign trade during the period of reconstruction must seek no advantage at the expense of the necessities of nations whose industries had suffered by the war. The gospel was not new, but for some reason or other most of those who heard it seemed to hear it gladly.

No great discernment was needed, however, to discover the sources from which the new spirit derived its chief inspiration. The business men who gathered at Atlantic City would certainly not have denied, either in theory or in practice, that the obligation to do justice and love mercy was as binding in commerce or manufacturing as in personal relations. It was conspicuously evident, throughout the conference, that the ethical responsibilities of business have come to be recognized far more widely than ever before. It was also clear that the greatest incitement to what was so obviously a change of heart was labor. Back of every discussion, whether of commercial methods, or trade expansion, or Government supervision, was the recognition of labor as the factor principally to be reckoned with. And it was not wholly a voluntary recognition. However much one might talk of coöperation and concession, of taking labor into council or giving it its due, it was clear enough that the new spirit had been born not only of kindliness or reasoned theory but also of fear, and that employers were henceforth to make what were repeatedly spoken of as "concessions" less because they wanted to than because they must.

Once this impelling motive is perceived, the larger substantive resolutions of the conference are more easily appraised. Nowhere in the proceedings was there indication that employers as a whole were planning to give to labor a determining voice in the control of business beyond what is involved in the usual trade-union agreements, or that Government ownership of any kind of business was to be viewed with favor. The formal resolutions of the conference looked in the other direction. Government control of telegraphs, cables, and telephones was repudiated. The railways should be returned as soon as possible to private ownership, although with the continuance of such governmental supervision as will prevent improper competition, aid the joint use of terminals and other facilities, and safeguard investors. War restrictions upon manufacture or distribution, together with governmental control of raw materials, should be abolished, and accumulated stocks in Government hands distributed equitably to manufacturers and the trade. The great merchant marine whose upbuilding the conference enthusiastically endorsed should be privately owned and operated. The inference is clear. If the action of the Atlantic City conference is to be generally approved, American business interests will support Government regulation of industry only for the purpose of maintaining and encouraging private capital and private direction, and of making good the losses due to economic disadvantage. We are still to have the competitive régime of the fathers, only tempered with "concessions."

How will all this affect the relations between organized business and the Administration during the next two years? No one could have been less in evidence at the conference than Mr. Wilson. Nowhere in any discussion of business policies did his name appear as that of a constructive leader. On the other hand, there was justifiable irritation at his refusal to listen to the suggestion that a committee of the Chamber be permitted to assist with advice at the peace conference, and at his failure to send any message to the reconconstruction conference because, frankly, he did not know what to say. Under the circumstances, therefore, there was nothing for business to do save to take the future into its own hands, and essay the leadership which the President has weakly abandoned. While Mr. Wilson busies himself with the safeguarding of his policies abroad, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States may be expected to work for what it regards as the necessary safeguarding of American business at home. If the moral restraints which, by implication at least, it has publicly imposed upon itself are scrupulously maintained, if concessions to labor are wisely and generously made before they are forcibly demanded, and if an increasing measure of Government control is frankly accepted, the programme of industrial coöperation may very possibly succeed. If organized business fails to do these things, or does them badly or half-heartedly, the coöperation which has been championed with so much earnestness will turn out to be at best only another palliative, another ingenious device for bolstering an economic system which obviously needs overhauling at many points.

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Scire Quod Sciendum

THE criticism of public education in this country put forth by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools at its recent session at Princeton was almost wholly "cauld kail made het again." President Butler, who seems to have been the chief speaker, talked less than usual in the vein of the politician and more in that of the educator; yet after all, his complaints went over ground that had been covered time and again, and covered much more satisfactorily, while his forecast for education after the war was the routine counsel of perfection that almost any one might offer. It is not really hard to tell what ails American education, and no first-class critical power is needed to tell how to improve it, but no one seems able to tell how to improve it under the specific conditions in which it does and must exist—and this, surely, is the important thing. M. Clemenceau, who lived here awhile in his early days, was quite discouraged with us because we had "no general ideas and no good coffee." Our coffee is probably better now, but unless political considerations forbade, M. Clemenceau would no doubt permit the other half of his criticism to stand. One of his fellow-countrymen, too, and a much more considerable man than M. Clemenceau—M. Ernest Renan—made a similar observation. "Countries which, like the United States," he says, "have set up an extensive popular instruction without any serious higher education, will long have to pay for their mistake by their intellectual mediocrity, the vulgarity of their manners, their superficial spirit, their failure in general intelligence." Probably every item of dissatisfaction canvassed by President Butler and the Association could be run up under this one general criticism. Our education has not been such as to interest us in general ideas or to insure them an easy currency among us. It has done nothing for the general intelligence which surveys an idea with philosophical detachment and directs a fresh and unmuddied stream of consciousness upon it to float it along to its full logical length. The whole tendency of our training, in fact, has been to impress us with the impropriety and mischievousness of doing anything of the kind. This is its primary failure, about which there can be no doubt; the evidence is not only here at home, but unhappily, of late has overspread the world:

Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

Can this state of things be improved? No doubt. But this is not the question, though President Butler and the Association seem to take it for granted as such. We ask, rather, can it be improved under the present circumstances of educational control? President Butler suggests some changes in the theory and practice of teaching, and urges that the profession of teaching be better paid. But this is "cauld kail" with a vengeance, and we are a little impatient with it as merely so much evidence of the "superficial spirit" remarked by M. Renan. The real question lies deeper and is never spoken of. How can the common schools cultivate the beginnings of general intelligence, how can the State colleges and universities promote a "serious higher education" if they are controlled by political influences which would not survive the birth of general intelligence by a single day? What can the private schools do in behalf of general intelligence when in most instances it is the one thing above all others inimical to the interests of their founders and continuators? The practical demand upon our educational institutions is one toward which educators of the type of Mr. Butler display, for the best reason in the world, a more than Victorian prudishness. It is this: to promote a maximum of instruction consistent with a minimum of education. To be specific, we must, for instance, be made able to read the newspapers and Mr. Creel's effusions, but must not be made able to judge them. Clearly, then, as long as this is so, no amount of tinkering and pottering with methods, and no enhancement of the teaching profession will count seriously against the force of the criticisms we have quoted.

Hence our own hope does not lie in Mr. Butler's recommendations, or in the deliberations of any pedagogical association, political department, bureau or board. We look with interest upon the multitude of self-organized, self-managed schools that have sprung up lately, for the most part among the poorer classes. They are simply free associations of people who are interested in learning something and even more interested in thinking about what they learn. Like the mediæval universities, to which, by the way, they have a remarkably close general resemblance, they are "run" entirely by the students, which after all, we believe to be the wisest, as it is the oldest policy of university control. These schools have certain weaknesses and insufficiencies, no doubt, as all human institutions have; but what interests us is that they are attempting to do what our other schools do not do—to promote "general intelligence" in precisely M. Renan's sense, and to do it by a democratic method. One such school in New York has this year, we hear, an enrollment of over 10,000—a registration equal to Harvard's. They are multiplying with extraordinary rapidity, all over the country, and their influence even now, we are glad to say, is something to be reckoned with.

Prison Discipline

IN 1860 fashionable London was agog over a simple American frontiersman who had a secret to reveal as to dealing with horses. A substantial fortune of twenty thousand pounds was subscribed to learn from Rarey how to "gentle" a vicious stallion or a sullen colt. He showed how to break a horse without violence and cruelty. In course of time there arose also a protest against the old harsh methods of dealing with children, against the idea that the first step required of a conscientious parent was to break the child's will. It came to be recognized by intelligent persons that a child, like an adult, readily passes from refusal to an hysterical condition in which rational response becomes impossible, and that actual horrors of cruelty had often been perpetrated with the best intentions in the world. If the doctrine of "moral suasion" sometimes took exaggerated and sentimental shape, its vogue marked a great step forward in rational dealing with children.

In prisons a similar advance has been made. Torture has in theory been abolished and in practice driven into holes and corners. It is no longer a deliberate and intentional policy in our prisons at their best. The sharpest challenge to the wisdom and skill of the prison administrator, however, comes in questions of discipline within the prison, and it is in this dark world that physical coercion lingers longest. If a prisoner is disobedient the prison governor too often knows no more effective or rational course than to break his will by sheer physical pressure. Curiously enough, this policy of breaking the will by physical coercion

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is deliberately and intentionally maintained in our military prisons, though it must produce, one would suppose, material absolutely ruined for military purposes.

Julian Hawthorne is reported to have said some years ago that one met quite a different social class in prison nowadays. Such is certainly the case at present. In the Tombs recently there were confined a Hindu charged with endeavoring to secure a different political régime for his country, an American girl who believes that women have a right to refuse motherhood, and a college professor who believes that it is wrong to submit to what he calls "conscription of life." The suffragists, too, have been seeing what American jails are like. With all the waste that such conditions imply, they bring one great good. The ordinary prisoner is inarticulate, unable to obtain a hearing even if he does succeed in expressing himself, and to inspire confidence if he is heard. But men and women who go to prison for the sake of principle are likely to be articulate, to be able to command a hearing and, being heard, to be believed. It is in this way that the mediæval system of punishment which has so long survived in our military prisons was brought to public notice.

At Leavenworth, for example, a group of prisoners deliberately refused to work as a protest against the attempt to coerce certain Mennonite sectaries into doing acts which their religion forbids, such as wearing buttons. These buttons may yet become as famous as George Fox's hat, which he so stubbornly refused to remove before royalty itself. They are as reasonable or as unreasonable, perhaps, as is many another religious symbol, and as precious—precious because a man's loyalty to the right as he understands it is the supremely precious thing in human nature. For refusal to disobey their conscience these men were chained and half starved according to rule, and beaten and physically abused, as we are credibly informed.

Other prisoners felt that, knowing of this, they could not continue in their prison routine unprotesting without sharing in the guilt. In utter chivalry and self-abnegation they accordingly chose the only mode of protest that occurred to them—that of refusing to work—thus purposely sharing the same fate. They deliberately exposed themselves for an indefinite period of time to a régime expressly designed to be intolerable to the most brutal and callous in order absolutely to insure submission. It is easy to see how a sense of discipline and of duty as well as pride hold the authorities to their miserable task of attempting the coercion of those who prefer death or the madhouse to the abandonment of their self-imposed task of protest. To this impossible situation does the system itself lead.

The sufferings of Evan Thomas, Howard Moore, Francis Hennessy, the Russian sectaries, and others are bound to hasten the pace of reform. On December 6, undoubtedly as a result of their protest, came Secretary Baker's enlightened though belated order putting an end to the most shocking part of the military disciplinary punishment, the so-called "spread eagling" and "stringing up." Mr. Thomas and his companions, who had been chained by the wrists, part of the time in a position described as "hanging," for some nine hours a day since early in November, may thus feel that they have accomplished something. But this improvement is only a first instalment. Friends of prison reform must press their efforts till the whole business of dealing with law breakers is made to conform with modern purposes and with modern psychology, hygiene, and social ethics.

Mr. Wiseman on Revolutions

MR. WISEMAN comes of good old English stock, a *Who's Who* of the seventeenth century giving an account of an ancestor of the same name, Worldly Wiseman. He is neither a young man to see visions nor an old man to dream dreams, being middle aged. Yet he dreamed the other night that he saw a vision of the revolution—the authentic red revolution with all the classic accompaniments. After breakfast on Sunday he sat down to figure out whether, in the reassuring commonplace of daylight, there was behind the nightmare any reality as regards New Jersey, where he lives, or New York, where he does business. The dream was certainly not induced by a suppressed wish on his part for any revolution of however pale a pink. For the first time he put his eminently shrewd and sober mind upon the question and he could not avoid the conviction that there was at least a certain amount of danger; the contagious revolutionism of the Europe of to-day might sooner or later make itself felt in America. So being a wise man and not a fool, he gave the subject his best consideration and came to these conclusions:

(I) To ignore a fact is not to suppress it.

(II) Social explosions, like others, are destructive in proportion as they occur under conditions of confinement; closed safety valves mean disaster. Therefore let revolutionary forces blow off steam at every point without hindrance to liberty of expression, organization, and communication.

(III) Revolutions are dangerous in proportion to the prevalence of intolerance, fanaticism, and lack of mutual comprehension. Therefore, make all adults, especially the conservatives and the holders of power, familiar with information and ideas contrary to those they generally accept. Let them practice open-minded thinking and acquire habits of conference and discussion across the social dead line.

(IV) Revolutions get their driving power from a sense of injustice. One I. W. W. in jail is more effective than 500,000 at liberty. The longer he is jailed and the worse he is treated, the higher the voltage of the revolutionism that he is charged with. One Mooney can stir two continents even when competing with a world war for men's attention.

(V) Economic exploitation spells revolution. Therefore get rid of it as fast as possible. Improve our economic and educational system until there shall not be one fair-minded man who does not know that his chances for health, education, and pleasure are as good as those of any other man.

(VI) Class feeling is a prerequisite to revolution. Therefore give workingmen full rights socially, industrially, and politically. See to it that they have an equal voice in deciding policies and conditions everywhere, whether in factory or church or peace settlement.

Mr. Wiseman is not "ethical." He does not care about what is right or wrong, mean or friendly, cruel or generous. He cares for what promotes his own interest. We do not sympathize with the narrowness of Mr. Wiseman's point of view; yet we are glad to lay before our readers his reflections as they have been submitted to us by his secretary, A. Christian. At a time when the future is filled with uncertainties, thoughtful men do well to consider with unusual care the ideas of those with whom they differ, however widely, in opinion.

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Kurt Eisner, President of the Bavarian Republic

By S. ZIMAND

IT is not an accident that the first flames of the revolution in Germany came from Bavaria. The feeling among the masses of the people in Bavaria was very strongly anti-war. According to different press reports repeated mutinies broke during the course of the war in the Barvarian regiments. Even the Royal Guard Regiment refused obedience a few months ago. Anti-war feeling was displayed also by the attitude of the Bavarian press, which in the last months carried on a continual propaganda against the Kaiser. It should also be mentioned that the working people of Bavaria resigned in great numbers from the Majority Socialist party, on account of its pro-war policy, and the Independent Socialist Party increased considerably. As far back as October, 1917, the constituency of Hof in northern Bavaria, which country had hitherto been solid for the old party, went over to the Independents. The immediate accomplishment of the revolution must be considered as the work of the leaders of the Independent Socialists. But it cannot be said that it was their work alone. The revolution in Bavaria is the work of the war-tired, hungry people of Bavaria, stimulated by the Independent Socialists.

It is very significant that the first dynasty to fall at the beginning of the revolution was that of Bavaria. The Kingdom of Bavaria was one of the oldest dynasties of Germany, if not of Europe, and it was more deep-rooted in the minds of the people than any other. The fall of the Bavarian dynasty was the beginning of the twilight of the gods, for the Oldsburg, Hohenzollern, and Hapsburg dynasties.

It was at a monster demonstration at Munich, where 400,000 people were said to have been present, that Kurt Eisner proclaimed the Bavarian republic. On the night of November 8 the representatives of workingmen, soldiers, and peasants gathered in the Assembly Building of Bavaria, organized the Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Council and issued the following appeal to the population of Munich and Bavaria:

"The terrible calamity which came to the German people led to this movement of working people and soldiers of Munich. A tentative Council of Workingmen, Soldiers, and Peasants was formed on the night of November 8 in the building of the Bavarian Assembly. A people's Government which has the confidence of the masses shall be established very soon. A constituent national assembly for which all men and women may vote will be called as soon as possible. Bavaria wants to prepare Germany for the league of nations. The democratic and social republic of Bavaria has the moral power to get for Germany a peace which will save Germany from the worst catastrophy. The present change was necessary in order to make possible the development of conditions for the self-government of the people without too much destruction, and before the armies of the enemy should overflow our frontiers, or the demobilized German armies bring about chaotic conditions. The Workingmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Council will assure strict order. *Personal security and the security of property* will be completely guaranteed. The soldiers in the cantonments will govern themselves through soldier's councils and maintain strict discipline. All officials shall remain in their positions. Fundamental social and political reforms will be brought about without delay. The peasants will guarantee the provisioning of the cities with the necessary means of living.

The appeal finished with cheers for the Bavarian Republic and "Long live peace! Long live the productive work of all workers!"

With reference to the freedom of the press, the following statement issued by the People's Government of Bavaria is of interest.

According to our repeated statements issued with reference to freedom of the press, we can state again that the press is completely free and no censorship should be exercised. The telephone and telegraph service will also function without any kind of censorship. The only official press organ of the Government of the People's State of Bavaria is the South German Correspondence Bureau (Süddeutsche Korrespondenz-Bureau). The Government of the People's State of Bavaria: Kurt Eisner.

Kurt Eisner, who presided at this meeting of the Council, was born in 1867. He became known first for his æsthetic critical writings. From 1890 to 1895 he was contributing editor to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. On account of one article written against the Kaiser he was sentenced to nine months in prison. He left the radical press and became a contributor to Socialist papers. After the death of William Liebknecht, the father of Karl Liebknecht, he became editor in chief of the *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the Socialist party in Germany. As editor in chief of *Vorwärts* he inclined more to the tendencies of the so-called "Revisionist" wing of the Socialist party. On account of those tendencies he was forced by the Socialist organization of Berlin, which was Marxian, to resign from the paper with five other editors. But in the field of international politics he was always very radical. Witness for that is his book, "Der Sultan des Weltkrieges," written twelve years ago, which gives a good picture of German diplomacy. The ethical, æsthetic Eisner transformed himself in this book into a sharp critic of the Oriental policy of William the Second. Very interesting is his "Das Ende Des Reiches," which tells the story of the fall of the old German Empire. From Berlin Kurt Eisner went to Nüremberg, where he became in 1907 the editor in chief of the *Fränkische Tagespost*. Again he became involved in a controversy and left this paper in 1910. A few years before the war he was active as a free-lance writer for various southern Socialist papers.

The war has changed him just as the war has changed many other German Socialists; but Kurt Eisner changed in the sense that he adopted a very strong anti-war attitude. This was the reason why he published very little during the war. But the less he wrote the more active he was in the field of anti-war propaganda. He wrote a few pamphlets disclosing German schemes of annexation, and tried to inform the German people about the instigators of this war. Very soon he went even farther than the Independent Socialists in their anti-war propaganda, sympathizing more largely with the Leibknecht group. When the majority Socialist leader von Vollmar resigned from the Reichstag on account of ill health, Eisner was put up as candidate by the Independent Socialists.

The revolution brought Eisner to the foremost postion of leadership in the Bavarian Republic. The future will show his capacity for that constructive statesmanship so much needed in Germany now.

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A Canadian Community Carrying On*

By EDMUND KEMPER BROADUS

IT has been my privilege to spend the last nine years in a Western Canadian town. Since the fateful August of 1914, this town, like most other communities in Canada, has played its due part in the great war. The story of any one of these towns, during this period, would be worth telling for its own sake, for it would reflect and epitomize one phase of the great chapter of history which Canada is helping to write. But since April, 1917, another reason for telling such a story has developed. To those of us who were born in the United States and whose transfer of allegiance has caused no abatement of loyalty and affection for the country whence we came, the developments of the last months have had a double significance. There is not only a great thankfulness that the United States has played her part well, but there is also a profoundly moving consciousness that she has in some measure turned those pages of sorrow and high elation which we have been turning these four long years. That is why it seems worth while to record some of the experiences of an average Canadian community.

Edmonton, capital of the Province of Alberta, is, or was before the war, a city of between 60,000 and 70,000 inhabitants. It has two daily newspapers and a few minor manufacturing interests. It is dotted about by profitable coal mines. In addition to its legislative activities, it is the home of the provincial university. Around it and tributary to it is a mixed farming district, fairly well settled southward and on either side, but thinning out rapidly northward into a hinterland of trappers and of widely scattered Hudson Bay Company posts. From Edmonton and its tributary district, a little over 21,000 men, Canadian Expeditionary Force and Reservists of the Allied countries, have gone to the front since the war began.

Meanwhile, from the standpoint of the stay-at-home, the war has fallen into two periods. The first covered, roughly speaking, a year and a half—a period of intense recruiting, of khaki-filled streets, of exodus, of suspense—and, towards the end, of casualties that darkened many homes. With the passing of that period, the streets gradually lost their martial air and the recruiting diminished to a trickle—not because the spirit waned, but because there were so few left to go. To the stay-at-homes, as the spectacle of khaki faded, came a sense of enforced and intolerable detachment, and a hunger for some task—any task—that might help them to feel that they too were "carrying on." In some ways, indeed, it had been possible to carry on from the beginning. The confusion and haste of recruiting had been such that at first no adequate official record of soldiers' dependents was available. The "Daughters of the Empire" rose to the situation. Registration blanks were prepared, advertisements were inserted in the daily newspapers, coöperation of the druggists (who would be first to learn of cases of illness) was obtained, and by these means, and by personal search, approximately complete lists of soldiers' dependents were compiled long before the Government at Ottawa took any action. By the time Ottawa had organized the machinery for collecting and administrating the Patriotic Fund, the local activities were already well systematized and private relief had become the daily work of scores of devoted women.

When the official Patriotic Fund was finally arranged for, however, it was well planned and well administered. Only a little less than two per cent. of the great sums collected went to cost of operation, and this included office expenses and the travelling expenses of speakers who went through the country explaining the purpose of the fund and soliciting contributions. Though there were complaints at the time that the Government should entrust wholly to voluntary subscription a task of such national importance as the caring for the dependents of its soldiers, it seems to have been the wiser course. In the course of time, however, it became apparent that while the majority were giving and would continue to give gladly, a minority were withholding and would continue to withhold. The Provincial Government took charge and guaranteed the quota for Alberta.

Meanwhile the University, which had seen its student body diminished by half and its faculty deprived of some of the choicest spirits, also sought to help. From the very beginning, the Officers' Training Corps had taken the place of field sports and gymnasium training. In addition to the scattering enlistments of students in outside battalions (many of them in the "Princess Pats"), each of the four western universities, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, contributed a company to the "Western University Battalion." With most of those gone who could go, the problem of keeping in touch with the scattered academic family was energetically taken up by a member of the faculty who constituted himself editor of a weekly *Newsletter* to the boys at the front. At first a typewritten and mimeographed sheet occupied chiefly by news from the University, it developed rapidly into a printed paper whose home items were increasingly supplemented by news of soldiers themselves. In response to the appeals of the editor, letters from training camps in England and from "Somewhere in France" multiplied; and the sheet became a record, absorbingly interesting alike to the stay-at-homes and to the widely scattered boys at the front, of addresses, of transfers, of promotions, of decorations worthily won—and alas, all too often, of casualties. The girls, meanwhile, had organized themselves into a "Comforts Club," and boxes and parcels of delectables went forward in a steady stream.

Gradually, as the war wore on, the period of enforced detachment from the khaki passed. Scatteringly at first, but soon more numerously, uniforms began once more to be seen upon the streets—but with a difference. In place of the former pulse-stirring spectacle of buoyant marching men, the period of crutches set in. Of the 21,000 who have gone from the Edmonton district since the war began, 2,400 have come back. The hospital on the university grounds was taken over by the Government as a hospital for soldiers; another building was taken over as a Convalescent Home. A new phase had begun.

Next in importance to the man at the front, who is doing so much for the stay-at-homes, and for whom the stay-at-homes can do so little, is the man back from the front, for whom the stay-at-homes can do so much. Let us fol-

*In view of the impending return of our own soldiers, this account of Canadian experience has special interest at present.

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low one of our 2,400, a private of the C. E. F., from the moment when, incapacitated from further service, he finds himself on Canadian soil again, to the moment when, turning the last page of his great chapter, he becomes merged once more in civilian life.

Awaiting him in Edmonton (as, of course, in any other Canadian town, were he bound elsewhere) are a variety of organizations interested in his return. Some of these, such as the Red Cross, the St. John's Ambulance, and the V. A. D., have been primarily concerned with his welfare overseas, but these and the next-of-kin are eager to share in his welcome home. His companions who have preceded him and who have organized themselves into a local branch of the Great War Veterans Association are ready to greet him. The local authorities and the next-of-kin were notified by wire when our soldier entered the special train which has been bearing him on his long journey across the continent, and whether he arrive with few companions or with many, he will be amply met.

At the railway station space is roped off for his family and friends, and around the enclosure gather other citizens who have come to take part in the welcome. From these scenes, as they have been any time these last two years, certain faces haunt one's memory. Down in the southern city of Calgary, the distributing point for the Province, a quaint old woman used to meet the trains when soldiers came in. She had no sons at the front for whose return she might be watching. She had no money to give to the patriotic fund. But she had—a cornet, on which she could play one tune, "Keep the Home Fires Burning," and every time the soldiers came in, she got off in a corner of the station and played her tune. As the branch-line train with the soldiers on it came up from Calgary to Edmonton, it was boarded at one of the little stations down the line by a white-haired fragile old man who was "father" to many of the Edmonton boys when they were training here at the beginning. As a "Y" secretary, he was with them still in England and France, and in France his own son was killed. It is written in his fine old face that these men who are coming back are also his sons, and as he went from seat to seat in the train during these last few hours of their journey and welcomed them and planned with them for their welfare, they did not fail to read what was written there. Times change and faces change with them. The fragile old man is in England now, but he remains a part of the picture; for he has simply moved on to the beckoning finger-tip of the long arm which the home-town stretches overseas.

But we return to our soldier at the railway station. If he is incapacitated, an ambulance bears him directly to the Military Hospital. If, as in the majority of cases, he can get about but still needs hospital treatment, the motor cars bear him to the Veterans' Club, where the Mayor greets him with a word of welcome, and his comrades gather around him. Here, too, temporary accommodations are provided for him if he lives out of town. Thence he is borne to his home, where the soldier enjoys a ten days' leave of absence before reporting to the military authorities. If his condition is such that he can continue to be an "outpatient," he reports thenceforth at regular intervals for medical treatment. He is still serving under the colors, still wears his uniform, and may not seek other employment until his discharge.

For many a man, however, with health shattered by gas or shell shock, or with wounds requiring constant attention, hospital or convalescent home is the only resource. As I write, there are three hundred such cases in the local hospital, and they will, of course, multiply enormously as time goes on. When the hospital first began to fill, a quiet professor of mathematics at the university suddenly turned himself into a sort of amateur lyceum bureau. Anybody who had a song to sing or a joke to crack or a story to tell was hunted to his lair by this indefatigable spirit. From these beginnings he went on to the coördination of the various elements wishing to "do something" for the returned soldier, until now the erstwhile devotee of conic sections has become the mainspring of a concerted activity remarkable for its harmonious coöperation.

Meanwhile, our soldier is slowly convalescing, has joined the local branch of the G. W. V. A., and is beginning to think of his future. At present the returned soldier remains under the charge and absolute authority of the Canadian Army Medical Corps until the time of his discharge. Of Dominion scope again is the Invalided Soldiers Commission, which has to do with vocational training and with further medical treatment of the soldier in case he undergoes a physical relapse after his discharge. Coöperating with these is the Returned Soldiers Commission of the Province of Alberta, which consists of the Premier, three members nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and three members nominated by the G. W. V. A. One would imagine that it would take a hardy broth to survive this multiplicity of cooks, but fortunately it is the individual, not the red tape that counts. The Secretary of the Provincial Returned Soldiers Commission, himself an old-timer and, again, fortunately, a civilian, is the saving grace in this complexity. He cuts red tape by ignoring it, and is alike beloved by the soldiers and indispensable to the authorities. Through him our soldier's way is smoothed as he struggles with his complicated relations with the authorities and, emerging from the hospital, turns his face forward to the problem of fitting himself once more for civilian life.

During his stay in the Convalescent Home, our soldier, if he is not already master of a trade, has been encouraged to begin vocational training.* When restored to health he is sent on to the Dominion Technical School in Calgary, or to the vocational school in Edmonton or the College of Agriculture of the University. Meanwhile, a vocational allowance for such time as his technical training requires is added to his regular pay. At the end of this period, equipped with the necessary technical knowledge, he need have no fear. In a new and rapidly developing country, which was suddenly stripped of its man-power, there will be no dearth of opportunities. If, on the other hand, the soldier is ready to seek a position at once, without waiting for the vocational training, the Returned Soldiers Commission and the G. W. V. A. stand behind him. All available sources of employment—banks, department stores, and small shops, factories, agencies, and mines—have been brought into coöperation.†

It is impossible to mention the G. W. V. A. without paus-

*At present this privilege is granted only to those who have had no previous special training, or whose physical disabilities prevent their resuming their former trade. It is characteristic of the activities of the G. W. V. A. that they are now urging upon the Government the extension of this opportunity to those who already have a trade but wish to "better themselves" by learning a new one.

†As an instance of local coöperation, it is worth noting that the Edmonton Board of Trade prints, as a part of its letterhead for all correspondence, a reminder that "the G. W. V. A. conducts an employment bureau. Give the veterans the first chance."

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ing to reflect on the enormous significance this organization and the corresponding organization, sure to develop on American soil, will have on the future of the two countries. What part the American organization may be expected to play is outside of my text. With the numbers already enlisted in the States and the enormous additions which will probably have to be made, that influence cannot fail to be great; and it is possible of course that enlistments may ultimately reach such a proportion that the story of the G. A. R. in the twenty years following the Civil War may be paralleled. But the army now contemplated in the States, large as it is, bears of course no such proportion to the total population as the army which sparsely populated Canada has sent. As we here in Edmonton, for example, look about us, the question that rises to our lips is not so much, "Who has gone?" as "Who has not gone?" And when these thousands come back, with a basis of organization and a sense of solidarity such as no mere political party has ever afforded, there seems no imaginable limit to the power for good or ill which they can and will exert. The present membership of the G. W. V. A. in Canada, about 25,000, is, of course, only the thin edge of the wedge; but their monthly magazine, the *Veteran*, contains in its opening number the significant announcement that it proposes not merely to concern itself with "problems and news more closely affecting returned soldiers," but also "fearlessly and strenuously to attack all proven abuses and injustices in our national administration and public life, and lend its independent support to all sane and enlightened policies of reform and progress." If the G. W. V. A. can really be independent and stay independent, and can save itself from the inevitable danger of becoming a political tool, there is literally no limit to the good it can do in a country where there is surely room for purgation; and there is also food for reflection in the thought that the two G. W. V. A.'s which will develop on either side of the international boundary, consisting of men who have fought shoulder to shoulder, will develop an intellectual and spiritual reciprocity between the two nations which will utterly transcend any mere economic relations.

Meanwhile, with the fruition of these great matters still in the future, the little community has been doing what it could. The efforts have seemed like mere gropings in the dark, and the waiting was not easy. But the darkness was occasionally irradiated and the tedium relieved by experiences which enlarge one's faith in human nature. Boys come back, still boys in mere tale of years, but in all else veterans. Perhaps the sense of this sort of thing comes home more intimately to those of us who teach than to other persons. Teaching has a way of laying bare the mental processes of the student and we catch ourselves wondering how minds so immature and apparently so deficient in analytical ability and power of expression can ever cope adequately with serious things. The great call comes. They volunteer, don khaki, and go, and still we wonder a little. Then news begins to filter back of how this boy or that has displayed a man's resourcefulness and a hero's courage, and how all of them, whether chance has distinguished them or not, have done their duty. That would be enough in itself to teach us humility, but one thing remains to clinch the lesson. Slowly as the months of long agony of war grow into years, many of those boys who seemed so incurably young are invalided home and meet us in the halls or reappear in our classrooms. They bear external marks of what they have been through but these marks are as nothing compared to what is written on their souls. They conduct themselves naturally enough. There isn't a suspicion of swank. They are indeed quiet to the point of reticence. But in all their demeanor and in every word they say, they are men—not merely technically but literally, veterans. Here is one instance out of the many that crowd upon my thought. Among the sophomores is a quiet unassuming boy in civilian garb. Save for a shattered hand, there is nothing to mark him for what he is—a veteran of the Princess Pats. He has taken up his education at the early stage where he left it when the call came. He was no genius when he went away, and his experience has wrought no sea-change in him. But when he comes into contact with life as it is portrayed in literature, he judges it as a man judges. And there is a power of illumination in these boys that transcends speech. They have possessed themselves of a demesne of grim realities beside which one's own little plotted field seems pitifully insignificant. I had been reading Barbusse's "Under Fire" and the concentrated horror of it had seemed to me rather a triumph of the creative imagination than a credible thing. I met this boy next day with the book in his hand and phrased my doubt to him. "The story is true, every word if it," he said, very quietly and soberly. I read the book over then and peopled it with the boys—those incredibly young boys—whom I knew so well.

There are many lessons to be learned in this new world which is a-making. The great ones—economic, social, and moral—are for those who have the wider vision. But even to those of us who move within the narrow academic circle, the war comes home in unexpected ways. And it will be no inconsiderable gain if, by it, we shall have attained to a better knowledge of what is the true measure of a man.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau*

By ALBERT SCHINZ

AS American correspondent for the past ten years of the *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, the writer has reviewed an average of five American articles or books a year dealing with Rousseau, some from the pen of well-known scholars and men of letters, many of them college professors. The attitude of these men has been—with one exception only—one of antagonism or contempt; they simply followed the lead of John Morley (1873) in holding that while Rousseau as a writer was a genius, as a man he was a scoundrel: "Rousseau's repulsive and equivocal personality has deservedly fared ill in the esteem of the saner and more rational of those who have judged him." This judgment of Morley's has been echoed and re-echoed by later writers, who have heaped abuse on the great Frenchman.

An article in the *International Journal of Ethics* of October, 1915, may be mentioned as typical. Its title is "The Conversion of Rousseau"; its thesis that all the discussions on the mode of Rousseau's conversion are idle for the simple reason that there was no conversion; there may have been "emotional crises," but there was no "moral" reform.

He had been a liar in his youth, he remained one now; he had stolen . . . he was not above the same yet . . . Whither he would go, he went; what he would do, he did; what he wished, he took . . .

*The *Nation* is in no way responsible for the views of Rousseau expressed in this article, but it is glad to give space to an examination of the case in a presentation so interesting and provocative as that of Professor Schinz.

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Again:

> While Rousseau at times may have felt remorse for his acts, the dominant attitude of his life was one of virtuous satisfaction, even his expressions of regret being largely out of deference to the judgments of his fellows.

This is a mistaken view. The American public should no longer remain in ignorance of what the rest of the world already knows, namely, that thorough and abundant investigations have forced a reversion of opinion; that while to-day Rousseau as a thinker is perhaps esteemed less, Rousseau the man has been the victim of mistaken prejudices.* And if Americans insist on expressing their dislike of Rousseau's personality, they must at least do it as responsible beings, knowing the facts of the case.

The unfavorable opinion of Rousseau, that has so long prevailed, had been consecrated by Sainte-Beuve himself, who, as it happened, had to pass judgment after a series of adverse "evidences" had accumulated for years. This was in 1850 and 1852. There was some excuse for Sainte-Beuve's acceptance of this "evidence" as genuine and reliable (as we shall presently see); there is absolutely no excuse to-day for still endorsing the great critic's condemnation of Rousseau's personality.

One could easily write a whole volume on the recent investigations which have, in well-informed quarters, put an end to the slandering comments on Rousseau. Berthoud's books on Rousseau in *Môtiers-Travers* (1881 and 1884) expose well the petty and insidious intrigues carried on by the clergy of Berne, Geneva, and Neuchâtel to drive the refugee from his peaceful abode in Switzerland. The publication, in 1906, by Professor Lanson of documents regarding the condemnation of "Emile" in Paris prove that, far from being an illusion in Rousseau's mind, the persecution was more serious than Rousseau himself was aware. The correspondence with Madame Delessert (published by Godet in 1908) shows how, during this very period when his biographers represent him as a dangerous maniac, Rousseau was, when at his ease, not only the most unassuming man, but the most sociable, nay, the most cheerful. Another recent publication, of 1916, picturing Rousseau's relations with the printer and publisher Rey of Amsterdam —a man of the plainest sort, before whom Rousseau could never have dreamed of posing—shows him as a simple man, only too painfully conscientious at times. In 1911, the minute and accurate study by Courtois of Rousseau's stay in England proved another surprise for those who, following tradition, imagined the guest of Lord Davenport a madman. Moreover, we cannot much doubt that in the forthcoming objective treatment of the unfortunate affair between Hume and Rousseau the latter will gain, and the former lose considerably; many little things already indicate that Morley's summary statement: "It would be ridiculous for us to waste any time in discussing these charges (against Hume)," was premature. Again, recent investigations regarding Rousseau's last stay in Paris (1770–8), far from representing him—as prejudiced authors up to now have done—as an unsociable being, refusing to see anybody and breaking with all his old friends, show that he kept the old ones and made not a few new ones. Nobody can blame him for closing his door to impertinent intruders, who evidently had no other purpose except to boast that they had seen the lion.

To a large number of persons the great stumbling block has for a long time been the much-discussed "quarrel" with Madame d'Epinay, Grimm, Diderot, and the Encyclopædists. Rousseau, it is said, is here caught distorting truth; his statements of the case seldom agree with the statements of all the other actors in the painful drama; indeed, they often contradict them flatly; the number of testimonials alone which condemn him would sufficiently force upon us the conclusion that he was a liar. Just as elsewhere, however, and even more than elsewhere, documentary evidence has now vindicated him. But, since so many readers on this side of the ocean persist in ignoring one of the most striking chapters of French literary history, written twelve years ago, it will not be out of place to explain briefly what has been done.

The problem in a nutshell is this: There are two versions of the "quarrel," its causes, its history, its consequences. The one is that of Rousseau, recorded in the "Confessions" (first published in 1791), according to which all sorts of vexations were brought to bear upon him. These vexations finally assumed the form of regular persecutions, because of his deserting the cause of the Encyclopædists, and because of his desire to leave Paris and live in the country. The other version is recorded in the "Mémoires de Madame d'Epinay" (1818), although Diderot's "Néron," Grimm's "Correspondance littéraire," and Michaud's "Bibliographie universelle" had paved the way.

The two versions are very different; they cannot both be true; one must choose between them. Sainte-Beuve, as already pointed out, decided against Rousseau; and he was followed by Saint-Marc Girardin, Schérer, Morley, Lemaître, to quote only the most important and the most dogmatic. It must be admitted that for one who had accepted the "Mémoires d'Epinay" as genuine, Sainte-Beuve's position was not unreasonable, and during the greater part of the nineteenth century causes for doubting their genuineness were not overwhelming. The attitude of Messrs. Perey and Maugras, in 1883, however, is more peculiar; these two scholars had discovered a manuscript of the "Mémoires d'Epinay"; and they had declared emphatically that while the printed text did not always follow the manuscript closely, there was nothing in these alterations of a nature to shake our confidence in the "Mémoires" as a truthful and historical document: "After the most exact and conscientious work, we have arrived at a firm belief in the veracity of the 'Mémoires' in all essential points." Of course, the situation was not the same as in Sainte-Beuve's time; investigations had forced them to admit that whenever Rousseau and persons on the other side quoted a document—and when there were discrepancies—Rousseau was not the forger. Moreover, isolated but striking protests had been heard, and were renewed in a disquieting fashion. Quérard, as early as 1816, had called the article on Rousseau in the "Bibliographie universelle" an "infamous libel"; Musset-Pathay, in 1818, had at once expressed doubts as to the genuineness of the "Mémoires d'Epinay"; he had renewed his attacks in 1827, but was never even allowed to see the manuscript. In 1863, Boiteau had revived the discussion. Now, after Perey's and Maugras's declaration, Streckheisen-Moultou, in 1885, had made it plain once more that something was not right. And finally, more recently, the learned Rousseauist, Mr. Ritter, of Geneva, in an elaborate article in the *Annales J.-J. Rousseau* (1906), showed with abundant documentary evidence the inaccuracy and dishonesty which far too

*See the books of Lasserre, Seillière, Maurras, Lemaître, in France; of More and Babbitt in America. (Cf. N. Y. *Bookman*, Sept., 1907.)

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often characterize the statements of Rousseau's enemies.

The only thing still militating against Rousseau was that such arguments as Ritter's, while straightforward and convincing, were, owing to the nature of the case, complex and involved; few readers, even scholars, would be willing to give the labor necessary to follow out the demonstration to the end. Fortunately, in the same years when Mr. Ritter was working on his article, Mrs. Macdonald was working on her book, which came out also in 1906, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau, A New Criticism." Thanks to the facts she brings into the discussion, she removes the last obstacle to Rousseau's vindication. A mere look at some photographs is now enough to convince the most obstinate doubter that Rousseau has been the victim of shameful slander. No longer is it necessary to rack one's brain in studying the intricacies of the Ritter article. Briefly told, what Mrs. Macdonald shows is that the original manuscript (1761) of the "Mémoires d'Epinay" had been tampered with considerably and repeatedly; especially, the first time, after 1781 or 1782; and then again on the eve of the publication in 1818. They were transformed from an innocent sentimental eighteenth-century novel, written by Madame d'Epinay with no thought whatsoever of discussing any actual personality, into historic "Mémoires," with real names introduced, and indicting the character of Rousseau, indicting it more and more in successive redactions. Mrs. Macdonald had even found a little bunch of "notes" telling how the tampering was to be done (*Notes des changements à faire dans la fable*). One of the "Notes" began thus: "Revise René [fictitious name for Rousseau] from the beginning . . ." Some of the corrections in the "Notes" and in the text are in the hand of Diderot. Mrs. Macdonald recognizes the hand of Grimm also, but others do not. It is of little importance, however, as Grimm's guilt is otherwise abundantly proved.

This whole shocking affair shows not only that the adverse judgment of Rousseau's personality, which had been particularly based on this episode of his life, is built on inaccurate information, but also that Rousseau's own complaints about the malice of hidden enemies were not always without foundation.

Mrs. Macdonald's book was issued in 1906, and since then the work of rehabilitation has been going on steadily, and no doubt will continue to go on. This, in view of the considerations above set down, and of other evidence that has lately come to light, is as it should be. Especially is it well, on account of the fact that Rousseau is being widely read again as one of the men who inspired the social revolution which opened our own historical age, that the truth should be known. These revelations will, of course, not render the doctrines of Rousseau more true by one iota. These must, naturally, stand or fall on their own merits, and their validity is in no way affected by personal considerations. Nevertheless, people who are affected by personal considerations in their attitude towards a man's views are legion; and thus, indirectly, the removal of unfair criticism of Rousseau's personality will ultimately contribute towards a more unprejudiced appreciation of Rousseau's writings.*

*Even after this vindication Rousseau remains a man like all of us, and will have to bear the consequences of his actions. At the same time, recent investigations ought to put us on our guard against too drastic judgments. Take the worst that is known about him; putting his children in a house for foundlings. We ought not to forget the extenuating circumstances; namely, that, all alone in the world, he was, through no fault of his own, thrown with the outcasts of society, and for awhile behaved like one of them, according to the ideas prevailing with them. If he had written "Emile," and then abandoned his children, he would deserve our contempt; but he did the reverse.

Foreign Correspondence

I. The Attitude of French Labor

Paris, November 10

THERE is a tendency outside France to look on what are called the laboring classes as standing apart from the rest of the nation. The *Union Sacrée*, all but unbroken in everything that concerns fighting and working for victory during more than four years of war, has not been enough to counteract such a tendency. We must appeal, then, to facts. Of laborers living by day's wages, something like 4,000,000 voters may be counted at most. The farm laborers have been little touched by class agitation. The Socialist members of Parliament, who alone in politics make profession of speaking in the name of labor, have received 1,200,000 votes. The remaining labor votes have either been cast for defeated candidates or have gone to candidates not flying the separatist labor flag. Even the Socialist members of Parliament have had the support of a large number of voters who, to say the least, have nothing to do with manual labor. Ringuier, the patriotic Socialist Deputy of Saint-Quentin, was brought into Parliament by the votes of conservatives who had no other way of defeating a more obnoxious radical. Ex-Prime Minister Briand, although long since excommunicated by the Socialist party, has continued sitting in Parliament thanks to his exclusively labor constituency of Saint-Etienne.

More than this, there are not 50,000 Socialist voters who pay dues or take any part in the party organization. Even these are represented by a complicated system of "mandates" which, for example, has lately puzzled foreigners by enabling the Federation of the Seine to oust the former more or less ministerial majority and instal the quondam revolutionary minority in its place in the Socialist Congress. Thus, while the Socialist political party has nearly one-sixth of the members of the French parliament, it has not as a party any verifiable warrant to speak in the name of French labor. The individual members, of course, have the right to speak in the name of the voters who elected them. Yet it must be remembered that the present parliament was elected before the war and that, since then, much water has flowed under the bridges of the Seine. Who, then, represents the French laboring classes at present?

The C. G. T. *(Confédération Générale du Travail)* or General Confederation of Labor Syndicats (Syndicalists) has held a prominent place in the public eye ever since its first Congress at Bourges in 1904. It was then made up of labor unions with a membership of 400,000. The number is now less than 300,000, but "free" or unattached labor unions numbered 233,000 members at their recent congress and there are others in addition. The regular syndicalists are supposed to be revolutionary with regard to the present constitution of society, and their extreme wing comprises former anarchist groups. Free Syndicalists for the most part belong to what are called Christian unions. There are also important labor unions of special industries like railway workers, printers, and bookbinders, whose influence is great in all that concerns their own work. All syndicalist or labor unions are supposed to be quite independent of politics or political parties in their activities.

Their individual members, except perhaps those of the Christian labor unions, must commonly vote for Socialist

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candidates; and the proportion of labor unionists who do not vote at all is less than of other classes of French citizens. No majority in the French Chamber of Deputies has ever been elected by more than 47 per cent. of the votes actually cast and, of course, by a far lower percentage of possible voters on the lists. As in other countries, it is chiefly the careless middle classes that exercise the privilege of not voting at the elections. In sum so far as a political party or organized labor represents the French laboring classes, the condition of things is as follows: The Socialist party receives one-quarter of the possible labor vote, but not one labor voted in a hundred takes an active part in the party organization. The Syndicalist and other labor unions number in their official organization not more than one in five of the wage-earning laborers of the French people. All this does not exclude the influence which organized agitation will always have over the unorganized masses.

Taking Socialists and Syndicalists for whatever they may really represent among the French labor classes, we have a few test cases enabling us to form a judgment not dependent on personal impression or opinion. They are: the labor response to mobilization and to the successive exigencies of war at the fighting front; labor coöperation in war work at the rear; the Zimmerwald Kienthal pacifist agitation; the feeling toward Kerensky and the Bolsheviks; the Malvy case (Caillaux and Humbert touching in no way labor either organized or fluid); and the recent attitude toward Prime Minister Clemenceau, President Wilson, the armistice, and peace negotiations.

No one can any longer imagine that there was any difference in the attitude of the French laboring classes, no matter how defined, and that of other classes of the French people in the first mobilization for war. The impenitent Communist who wrote the War Song of the French Workman gave the refrain of all—*Puisqu'il le faut*—"Since it must be." It is true that the Socialist party, through its mighty leader Jaurès, up to the very day of his assassination on the eve of hostilities, insisted on trusting German Socialists to prevent war, and that the Government accordingly left priceless parts of the frontier line defenceless, with results that were felt to the war's end. But even the Socialists, faced by the accomplished fact, joined in the *Union Sacrée* and maintained that patriotic attitude in their politics until M. Clemenceau caught up the reins of power.

On November 6, the third War Council (military tribunal) heard the appeal of workman-adjuster Fontenay, sentenced to five years in prison for counselling remobilized workmen in the war shop where he was foreman not to rejoin their regiments. The official head of the regular Syndicalist Federations (C. G. T.), Jouhaux, who has always expressed his personal patriotism, and even Merrheim, the delegate to Zimmerwald and head of the supposedly revolutionary Federation of Metal workers, came forward as witnesses to protest energetically: "Labor organizations have had noth- to do with any movement among a few misled workmen who have refused to do their duty." The General Confederation of Labor repudiated insinuations made in the course of the Malvy trial against the patriotism of the French labor classes.

It is perhaps true that the Syndicalist memory retains old grudges against Prime Minister Clemenceau from his former term of power; and it was probably personal reasons that led sixty out of ninety Socialist members of Parliament to keep their seats when the other hundreds of the representatives of the nation rise and acclaim him in the Chamber. All shades of political opinion claim President Wilson for themselves, from the Conservative Right to the Extreme Left. It is certainly not French labor that prompts Marcel Cachin, the new editor of the Socialist party organ *l'Humanité* to make the American President the advocate of a "super-State."

STODDARD DEWEY

II. The British Imperial Problem

London, October 1

THE last M.P. for St. George's, Hanover Square, one of the most aristocratic of West End constituencies, was Sir George Reid, formerly Prime Minister of New South Wales and afterwards of the Australian Commonwealth. The vacancy caused by his death is to be filled by the election of Sir Newton Moore, an ex-Premier of Western Australia. Two or three other Australian ex-Premiers are to be candidates for seats in the British House of Commons at the general election. It looks as though it will soon become a common practice for a distinguished political career in the Dominions to be rounded off by a term or two as a private member of Parliament at Westminster.

It is only of recent years that colonial statesmen have been bitten by the ambition to try their luck in British politics. A few apparent exceptions in earlier times were not really examples to the contrary. H. C. E. Childers, who held leading posts in some of Gladstone's administrations, had been a member of the Government of Victoria, but that was in the primitive period of the colony's existence, and he was only thirty years of age when he returned home. A still better known man, Robert Lowe, who, like Childers, was an Englishman by birth and education, won distinction in British politics after serving an apprenticeship in the New South Wales Parliament. He, again, was only forty-one when he entered the British House of Commons. Neither Childers nor Lowe could be regarded as a typical colonial politician. Of a different class was Edward Blake, who, after being Premier of Ontario and holding high office in the Dominion Government, became M. P. for an Irish constituency in 1892 in his sixtieth year. The Home Rule party hoped for great things from his advent, but, though he sat in the House of Commons for fifteen years, he made no impression upon it. He never really gained the ear of the House. The experiment cannot be said to have been successful in later instances. The ex-Premiers of colonial Governments who have migrated to England have arrived, as a rule, too late in life to acquire the "House of Commons style" or a familiarity with the intricacies of British politics. Their acquaintance with colonial problems has been of little value as an asset, for such matters come little within the purview of the British Parliament, being dealt with in the Dominions themselves, and every year of residence in England has put the ex-Ministers more out of touch with colonial feeling. In short, they have been "back numbers" as to colonial affairs, and novices as to British. Besides these, the British upper house has lately included several colonial peers, but they have been business men rather than politicians, and have seldom attempted to take part in its debates.

The war has emphasized the necessity of some better and more systematic arrangement for giving the Dominions a share in imperial government. It is clear that in future the

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over-seas section of the British Empire will demand a voice in the making of either war or peace, and in the control of other matters of policy in which the destiny of all of them is alike involved. But the problem of readjustment of relations will be extremely difficult. Any project of federation, which at first sight would seem the obvious solution, is beset, as soon as one descends to details, by obstacles which the wit of man has not yet been able to overcome. What has to be found is some method of reconciling the autonomy of the individual colonies with united action in imperial affairs.

A step in the desired direction has been taken by the summoning, last year and this, of an Imperial War Conference and an Imperial War Cabinet. The Imperial Conference is convoked by the Colonial Office, and meets for a few weeks in London under the chairmanship of the Secretary for the Colonies. It consists of representatives of the self-governing Dominions and of India, is purely consultative, and discusses for the most part war problems of the second class together with problems relating to the post-war period. This year it has made recommendations on such questions as demobilization, the regulation of the emigration of ex-soldiers, uniformity of restrictions on naturalization, the substitution of one Imperial Court of Appeal for the present dual system, the establishment of an imperial board to inquire and report on shipping communications, the measures necessary to secure the command of certain essential raw materials, and various other phases of post-war economic policy. None of these matters, however, could be decided by the Conference itself. The proposals made will have first to obtain the concurrence of the various colonial Legislatures affected.

The Imperial War Cabinet is a much more important body, as it possesses executive functions. It is presided over by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and practically consists of the War Cabinet proper with the temporary addition of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and representives of India. Logically, it is an anomaly. According to strict constitutional practice in all parts of the British Empire, there can be no Cabinet anywhere unless there is also a Parliament to which it is directly responsible. On this analogy, the summoning of an Imperial Cabinet must be accompanied by the establishment of an Imperial Parliament, to which it would be responsible, standing or falling as it retained or lost the confidence of that Parliament.

On another side, also, the present arrangement is logically defective. Whether in war or in peace, an executive body such as a Cabinet should sit—or at any rate be capable of assembling at short notice—all the year round. Both last year and this, the Imperial War Cabinet has met for a few weeks only, and during the rest of the time the imperial executive functions have been discharged by the War Cabinet of the United Kingdom. One Dominion representative only, General Smuts, has been in permanent attendance, and he has prolonged his stay in England because he possesses personal qualifications, military even more than political, which make his advice particularly valuable to Mr. Lloyd George and his British colleagues. To remedy, as far as possible, the defect above mentioned, it has now been decided that the Dominion Premiers shall continue to visit England for what are called the "plenary sessions" of the Imperial War Cabinet, but that each such Premier shall have the right to nominate a member of his own Cabinet, either as a resident or visitor in London, to represent him in that body during the rest of the year. Further, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, as members of the Imperial War Cabinet, are henceforth to have the right to communicate direct, on questions of Cabinet importance, with the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, and vice versa. Hitherto the procedure has been for the Premier of Canada, let us say, to communicate his message to the Governor-General, who in turn passes it on to the Colonial Secretary for the Prime Minister. It has hardly, perhaps, been realized in England what a revolutionary change this is, but in Canada, as the cablegrams tell us, it has been recognized as a step in the direction of eliminating the Governor-General altogether from the constitutional system of colonial government. He will still, of course, be the representative of the King in ceremonial matters, but will cease to be the agent in Canada of the British Government. In Australia this change must inevitably bring powerful reinforcement to the growing demand for the abolition both of the Governor-Generalship of the Commonwealth and of the Governorships of the individual provinces—the only post in Australia that are filled by appointment from home.

It is generally admitted that the present Imperial Cabinet system, even as thus revised, can only be a makeshift. It has been devised and put into practice as the best working plan, available at the moment, for giving the overseas parts of the British Empire some control over war policies. For the emergency, it seems likely to answer fairly well, but neither in England nor in the Dominions will it be accepted as a permanent solution of the problem of imperial relations. The lack, already mentioned, of an Imperial Parliament to which this Imperial Cabinet is directly responsible, is a fatal flaw in it when considered as a settled scheme. The people of the United Kingdom are not likely to assent in perpetuity to a system which gives a powerful voice in the British Cabinet to men who have no responsibility to the British electorate. It is true that there is an understanding that the representatives of the Dominions are not to take part in decisions concerned with the domestic interest of the British Isles, but the question has already been asked how it will be possible to detach, on such a subject as the tariff, the imperial interests which the enlarged Cabinet may properly consider from the various domestic interests. And on the colonial side it is being felt that the continuance of this plan in peace time would involve the Dominion representatives in responsibilities and obligations which should be undertaken, if at all, only on the mature consideration of their own Parliaments. There is a distinguished place waiting in the history of the British Empire for the statesman who is able to devise some satisfactory permanent scheme to supersede the present compromise.

HERBERT W. HORWILL

Contributors to this Issue

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Snowfall in White River Valley

By CHRISTINE TURNER CURTIS

The snow comes early in these crannies of the hills,—
Comes sifting through the sugar-groves, and fills
The rock ravines, and gathers in the glens,
And rounds the tussocks in the river fens;
And sweeps along the stubble fields, and piles
The climbing roadway even with the stiles.

And in the glimmer of the piney glade
The little hemlock maidens, slim and staid,
Pull up their thick white fluffy shoulder-capes;
The spruces huddle into greatcoat shapes,—
And nightshade berries on their shrivelled vine
Cling to the butternut, and swing and twine;
Their scarlet lanterns dim and dimmer grow
All filmed and fairy with the falling snow.

And powdery and faster in the brown
November dusk the flakes come pearling down.
A field away the snowy curtain drops
Across the contour of the far hilltops;
And northerly, with soughing moanful wail,
The night express goes whistling up the vale.

In the Driftway

ABOUT this time of the year, as the almanac would say, husbands in Washington return home on an evening with a sober gray Government pamphlet and toss it into the good wife's lap. "What have we here?" inquires the wife with surprise. "Secretary Lane's annual report," the husband briefly replies. "Oh, how nice!" exclaims the wise little wife. "What does he have to say this year?"—Fancy a scene like that! But it does occur, and it probably will continue to occur as long as Franklin K. Lane remains as Secretary of the Interior. Those who have never read one of Mr. Lane's annual reports will be surprised and delighted at the good writing which that hardworking official packs into his yearly review. Part of its charm lies in its modesty. There are none of those dull pretentious claims which commonly mark the politician in office. The Secretary tells about the past work of the Department and its plans for the future with a freshness denied the average professional writer. Even those who have reached the frame of mind in which the word "reconstruction" fails completely to awaken any response, will be altogether charmed, I imagine, at the vividness with which Mr. Lane discusses that much-abused theme in his annual report. Official Washington has learned to appreciate him, but his light ought to shine further.

* * * *

Now that the war is over, the Irish-American politicians who were silent during the fury of the British attack upon the Sinn Fein movement are now moving up conveniently into the limelight. Congressman McLaughlin, of Pennsylvania, for example, has burst into quite tremendous activity with a resolution demanding "self-determination" for Ireland. He secured a hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, where robust rhetoric, of course, can safely flourish. But Mr. McLaughlin, I fear, comes too late to the attack to acquire from the Irish vote the recognition which he covets. As president of the powerful Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Irish-Americans looked to him last winter for some word when the English propaganda against the Irish in the American press was at its height. But he was silent. Then the Massachusetts branch of the A. O. H. held a convention, ran away from the McLaughlin control, and passed bitter resolutions in condemnation of the "so-called leaders" who failed when the test came. This insurrection must have disturbed the Pennsylvania Congressman a good deal, but not half so much as the primary elections this year in Pennsylvania. The Irish, with a solidarity which does them credit because it had a sound principle behind it, went to the polls and swept McLaughlin out of the race. This uprising of the Irish-Americans against the professional Irish politician certainly promises well for American politics; it indicates that a generation has arisen in which it is an issue, and not merely an Irish name, which counts.

* * * *

What shall we do with our poison gas? That is the question which is said to be puzzling the chemical experts in the War Department. A considerable supply of a deadly and difficult gas has been manufactured in this country and packed into retainers for shipment abroad. Now we have to get rid of it, because the containers, it is said, will not hold it for an indefinite time. It is to be hoped that the sulphur dioxide and the chlorine can be utilized for commerce, for we need them badly; but what they do with the other ingredients—who cares? Those who are determined to worry over the problems of reconstruction may find it worth while to inquire what is to become of the innumerable diminutive typewriters which a vast army of public servants, both civil and military, has cornered and pounded. Will these be dumped on the market, bought in by the manufacturer, and sold again to us? The future looks dark!

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

On an Epitaph

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On p. 346 of *Some Hawarden Letters 1878-1913*, a most interesting collection of letters written to Mrs. Drew (Miss Mary Gladstone) by various correspondents, which has just been published on this side the Atlantic by Dodd, Mead & Co., there is given a fragment of a letter from that exquisite scholar and great gentleman, George Wyndham, in which he thanks Mrs. Drew for, and gives a version of an elegiac couplet described by him as "quite beautiful and quite untranslatable":

I, Nimium Dilecte; Deus Vocat; I, Bona nostræ
Pars Animæ; Moerens Altera, Disce Sequi.

In a footnote beneath the letter the couplet is spoken of as "An epitaph in Winchester Cathedral, inscribed by Mrs. Drew on the wall of Hawarden Church to the memory of her husband, below the tablets recording the names of the rectors of Hawarden from the eleventh to the twentieth century." (In the next letter Wyndham goes on to discuss various ways of translating the Latin, and gives two other renderings of his own; the editors of the volume appending in a further footnote two more versions, one of them—much the finer—from the pen of Mr. J. W. Mackail, lately professor of poetry in the University of Oxford.)

In the Annals of My Early Life (pp. 238-9) Bishop Charles Wordsworth writes thus of his great bereavement: "My Charlotte was buried within the cloisters of Winchester, and a marble tablet to her memory on the south-east wall of the Antechapel (as it then was) bears the following inscription:

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M. S. Conjugis dulcissimæ - Carolettæ - Wordsworth - quae vixdum facta mater, - ex amplexu mariti - sublata est - nocte Ascensionis Domini Maiæ X, MDCCCXXXIX - Ætat, xxii

I, nimium dilecta, vocat Deus; I, bona nostræ
Pars animæ; mærens altera, disce sequi.

The bishop then adds a translation, which was published in *The Guardian* for May 1, 1867, made by Edward, Lord Derby, whose spirited blank verse rendering of the Iliad still finds many readers; and goes on to speak of the Greek and English renderings in couplet form which were subsequently made by Lewis Campbell, editor and translator of Sophocles, and Professor of Greek at St. Andrews. Perhaps there is room here for the Derby version:

Too dearly loved, thy God hath called thee; go
Go, thou best portion of this widowed heart:
And thou, poor remnant lingering here in woe,
So learn to follow as no more to part.

Earlier in the *Annals* Bishop Wordsworth had quoted the moving inscription placed by Dr. Lowth, sometime Bishop of Oxford, to the memory of his daughter Mary:

Cara vale, ingenio præstans, pietate, pudore,
Et plus quam natæ nomine cara, vale!
Cara Maria, vale: at veniet felicius ævum,
Quando iterum tecum, sim modo dignus ero.
Cara, redi, lætâ tum dicam voce; paternos
Eia, age, in amplexus, cara Maria, redi.

and had referred to an inscription in the church of Much Hadham, Herts, "made up curiously enough," he writes, "partly out of one of mine at Winchester, and still more largely out of this of Bishop Lowth."

HENRY A. LAPPIN

D'Youville College for Women, Buffalo, N. Y.

New York's Governors

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In speaking of the defeat of Governor Whitman for re-election, in the *Nation* for November 16, your editorial writer speaks of New York's "historic policy of granting only two terms to a Governor." I cannot see how any such policy can be deduced from the record.

The first Governor of New York State, George Clinton, served six consecutive terms of three years each, and then, after an intermission of six years, another term of three years. The fifth Governor, Daniel D. Tompkins, was chosen no less than four times consecutively, and then after serving nearly ten years resigned the office to become Vice-President of the United States, and while Vice-President, in 1820, was for a fifth time a candidate for Governor, although unsuccessful. DeWitt Clinton, a nephew of George Clinton, was four times a candidate for Governor, being elected in 1817 and 1820, retiring January 1, 1823, and being elected again in 1824 and 1826, dying in office in February, 1828, having served as Governor a little less than nine years. William L. Marcy, of Troy, was elected Governor in 1832, was reëlected in 1834 and 1836, and was defeated by William H. Seward in 1838 in his attempt to secure a fourth term. That was just eighty years ago, and Marcy was the last man who succeeded in serving three consecutive terms as Governor of the State.

In the meantime Horatio Seymour was a candidate no less than five times, in 1850, 1852, 1854, 1862, and 1864, securing election in 1852 and 1862, and meeting with defeat on the other occasions. Governor Seymour was nominated by his party for a sixth time in 1876, but declined the nomination on the score of ill-health. In our own time David B. Hill served as Governor nearly seven years, filling the unexpired term of Grover Cleveland, and being elected to two consecutive terms of three years each. In 1894, while senior United States Senator from New York, he was defeated by Levi P. Morton for the Governorship.

In this connection it might also be said that the following Governors were candidates no less than three times for the Governorship: John Jay, William H. Seward, John A. Dix the elder, Edwin D. Morgan, and John T. Hoffman. If there is any historic policy against having a Governor serve more than four years it has arisen since the termination of the Governorship of David B. Hill on January 1, 1892, when he concluded a seven-year term of service in the executive office of this State. Judging from the way the State voted on November 5, as to the minor State officers, from Secretary of State down, with the exception of the candidate for Attorney-General, who was a new nominee, there seems to have been no aversion whatever to granting a State official a third term, and if the Prohibition question had not been advocated so prominently in Governor Whitman's campaign, the chances are he would have shared the fortune of the successful nominees on his ticket.

ANTHONY J. FINDER

Troy, New York, November 16

The South African Colonies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What is the meaning of the singular hints that appear from time to time in our newspapers to the effect that America should acquire the South African Colonies? Is this the entering wedge of a subtle propaganda, an appeal to our vanity and sentimentality, designed to make us sharers of the spoils about to be divided? From what sources do these suggestions originate, from within or from without? The reason given for our annexing these colonies is that we owe it as a moral obligation —but whether to Europe, to Africa, or to ourselves is not made clear.

Something is stirring under the surface, and we should look into it. There is no time to lose. America has fought this war for purely idealistic purposes, without thought of gain. She is now apparently being asked to accept a share of the swag. "To assume a moral obligation" is the delicate term used. Note, however, that we are not asked to assume moral obligations toward the Persian oil fields, or toward the rich oil wells of Baku, or toward Mesopotamia, Egypt, Arabia, the Bagdad Railway, or even Constantinople. There is no apparent yearning on the part of Europe for American disinterestedness at any of these points. Our idealism and our peculiar brand of democracy are to be strictly localized in South Africa. Rather poor pickings, on the whole—in comparison. But perhaps our sympathetic and intelligent handling of our own Negro problem in the South has shown our special fitness for dealing with a large acreage of African blacks.

There must be some better reason for this "moral obligation" that we are assured is ours. Is it that if we accept a share of the loot, however humble, a part of the difficulties of the peace table will be over, that no more embarrassing talk will be heard concerning the rights of small nationalities, self-determination of nations, and so on? Are we to be won over to the new diplomacy under which "annexation" and "moral responsibility" become interchangeable terms?

Or perhaps this acute concern for South Africa comes not from Europe, but from within our own ranks. An increase of such magnitude in our colonial possessions, so remote from our own shores, will require of necessity a huge army, a huge navy, immense appropriations, disbursements, and the perquisites that go with same.

New York, November 20 SIMPLE SIMON

A Mystery Solved

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Why all this mystery about Feodor Vladimir Larrovitch? A citizen of the new Soviet Republic of Gath recently whispered to a friend of mine that Larrovitch was the author of the Sisson documents.—H. K.

Forest Hills, N. Y., November 29

A Haven of Sanity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since I began to subscribe I have always enjoyed the *Nation* more than any other paper. Its toleration and keen perception are unique. Here, in perilous seas, more than ever have I found it an invariable haven of sanity.

G. L. HOWE

Naval Hospital, European Waters, November 16

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Justice to All and Canal Street to Me

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I demand justice. I demand it through the columns of your paper. I base my appeal upon the following contentions: On Monday last the *Times* printed a letter written by Mrs. Amalia di Partialis, 7356 Fulton Avenue, the Bronx, claiming that Italy ought to have Schleswig-Holstein because the Consul Plancus Shaddus, in the year 7 B. C., with the 147th Batavian Infantry crossed Holstein from Rendsburg to Segeberg. I fully concur. Mrs. Amalia—I mean Italy—is entitled to Holstein and to the southern part of Schleswig.

On Tuesday, the *World* printed a letter from Sigismund Pszcznicki, the well-known barber of 2435 Prospect street, claiming that Poland ought to have Podolia, the Ukraine, Volhynia, Moldavia and Tauria because in the year 1352 King Lwadislaw with the Axe defeated the Khan of the Saporogian Cossacks near Tshigirin and conquered the entire southeastern part of Europe. By all means, I say, let him have it.

On Wednesday the *Sun* printed a letter from Krusiac Vrskwnicz, the well-known bootblack of 13 (basement) Third Avenue, claiming that Servia ought to have Walachia, Bulgaria, Rumelia, Bosnia, Albania and Livadia because Milosh the Purple after the defeat of George the Black and Molosh the Green near the Sparrowgate on the Danube had been sole ruler of these vast and fertile lands. By all means, let them have this stretch of territory.

On Thursday the *Tribune* printed a letter from Szathmar Janos claiming for his native Hungary the totality of the former Austrian and German Empires because one thousand years ago, King Mikosh the Great, after the slaughter of the Prstha, had been recognized as Krol of the entire Western Banat. Give Hungary what has always belonged to Hungary, I maintain.

On Friday the *Globe* printed a letter from Anselm Choukrout claiming the right of Alsace to a revived Burgundian Empire and stating that the work of Charles the Bold ought to be regenerated by the labors of the Congress of Versailles and that Strassbourg ought to be the capital of a new Empire from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Charles the Bold has been dead these many years. His intentions, however, were good. Let Alsace have her new domains.

Now, at last I bring forward my claims.

We Hollanders are a modest people. We do not ask for Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, West Africa, East Africa, British India, the Straits, Formosa, Ceylon, Japan, Spitzbergen or Brazil. Nay, we bridle our righteous demands and refrain from any claim upon New York State up to Fort Orange and the territory of the Lange Eiland. All we ask is "give us New York from the Battery up to Canal Street." It belonged to us half a century before any one else put in a claim. We laid out the streets and at great expense to ourselves we constructed sidewalks, a church, three saloons, twelve lamp-posts, one pair of gallows and 237 houses, stables and warehouses. We were deprived of our possessions without a declaration of war.

At that time we were much weaker than England and we had to surrender our domain. But now the Reign of Justice has come to Earth. Noble old Rome and all the other defunct Empires of Europe will receive what belonged to them by right of eminent conquest or discovery.

Why should a small nation be forgotten just because it is small? We are humble, indeed, in our just demands: only a few square miles and the right to levy a few taxes and the privilege to repopulate that small part of Nieuw Amsterdam with honest Dutchmen to the exclusion of the foreign and non-indigenous elements which have overrun our old and beloved colony. We might claim half of the world. Instead, we ask but a little bit of real estate. Surely the generous American nation will not refuse us this request, based upon firm historical foundations.

TYL UILENSPIEGEL, JR.

Hypolitushoef, Island of Wieringen, December 18

BOOKS

Common Sense and Vested Interests in Peace Terms

The End of the War. By Walter E. Weyl. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.

MR. WEYL has written a book which admirably sets forth the necessary commonplaces of liberal opinion concerning the peace settlement. Published when the end of the war seemed still a long way off, its main conclusions have an immediate pertinence painful in importance. They are conclusions, of course, many excited persons would call pro-German. To those endowed with historic sense, however, and with an impartial regard for the facts of the history and the politics of the war, they are conclusions of commonsense. If there is any fault to be found with Mr. Weyl's analysis, it is that he overemphasizes the economic causes of the war, particularly with respect to America's participation. This aspect of Mr. Weyl's case needs documentation. He must not expect us to take his bare word for it that American finance moved us to warfare because, by our participation on the side of the Allies, our Government became the guarantor of the future obligations of the belligerents to our bankers; and because the war created an enormous demand for material here at home, made possible a trade alliance with Great Britain at Germany's expense, created a field of investment for exportable capital, and, by establishment of a necessarily large army, afforded a bulwark to property rights in general. Against this argument is to be ranged the angry denial by the Government of the insinuations at one time current that Wall Street forced it into war. So far as the Government, as well as the people of the United States, is concerned, the economic interpretation is in this instance something of a Procrustean bed. This does not mean that the interests of high finance were not served by our entering the war. It means only that they did not directly determine our participation.

However, the point truly in question just now is rather how the war shall be ended than how it was begun, pertinent to each other though the two points are. England and France, Mr. Weyl argues, have been fighting, not militarism as such, but its incarnation in Germany as being dangerous to them. Because of her history, Germany has been seeing in militarism an insurance, whereas it could be to democracy only a menace. It was all the more easy to the Germans because it fitted so well with their type of industrial life, although the tendency of capital even in Germany was more and more to resist militarism. But England, Italy, and France have all been militaristic and imperialistic, though in a different way from Germany. Between the three there obtained, and still obtain, secret treaties as nefarious as any the Germans have made aiming at imperialism no better in principle. The case of Italy is particularly worth study in this connection; the Italian Government has been in absolute need of victory to escape overthrow by the democrats.

Hence, Mr. Weyl opines, the association of America with the Entente was inevitable and right. The cause sanctions it, but the cause itself—a world safe for democracy—cannot be won without changing the character of the Allies. This is the real problem of the end of the war. Much would have been gained toward its solution if the Government, before we went in, had publicly made unity of purpose the condition of our going in. That opportunity was lost. In many ways Mr. Weyl's forebodings are being justified. It is apparent that the peace conference is likely to do little more than ratify terms of peace already secretly made in connection with the armistice. No public reply has been vouchsafed to Mr. Wilson's demand from the Governments of the Entente, on September 27, 1918, for a clear statement of their intentions.

Meanwhile, the war which has been going on beneath the

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war has come to the surface. As Mr. Weyl points out, the true alignment runs across political allegiances. Its forms are economic, not political, and its mind is international. Everywhere on the Continent of Europe, conspicuously in the Central Empires, the peoples have risen or are rising against their masters. What the outcome will be depends largely on the peace conference. If it turns out to be merely what Mr. Weyl anticipates and the situation threatens—"the grand performance which will attract all eyes; with the actual business off stage"—it is hard to see how revolution can long be kept from sweeping Europe. That prior secret agreements will affect the settlement is a foregone conclusion, and it is the most serious danger that threatens the outcome of the peace conference, the more so since all the possibility that at one time seemed to exist of Germany's succeeding in disorganizing the Allies is past and gone—unless miraculously her revolutionary Government should succeed in aligning the United States with herself and Russia. But such an alignment would, as a matter of fact, make against, not for, imperialism. In a word, the defeat of German arms and the German revolution have invalidated Mr. Weyl's fears from that quarter. All danger from the vanquished being at an end, the danger is now specifically and entirely from the side of the victors. To meet that danger, now so immediate and menacing, all that Mr. Weyl has to recommend is the awakening of a vast body of public opinion firmly bent on securing for humanity, without delay, the blessing of a lasting peace and the immediate and active union of internationalists throughout the world.

A Study of the Greek Theatre

The Greek Theatre and Its Drama. By Roy C. Flickinger. The University of Chicago Press.

THE antithesis of the economic and the moral interpretation of history has its parallel in a similar controversy between materialists and spiritualists in the study of the drama. There are those who will deduce you all the specialties of French tragedy and the Elizabethan drama from the shape of the old French stage or the architecture of the London Inn. Professor Flickinger's sane and temperate scholarship distinguishes him from these extremists. But his aim in the present volume is to apply whatever is true and helpful in their method to the interpretation of the Greek drama from this neglected point of view. Aristotle, he reminds us, had already said that, though plays may be written for the closet, the *opsis*, the appeal to the eye, the entire setting or *mise en scène* is an essential if subordinate element in every real dramatic performance. Generalizing still further the Aristotelian *opsis*, Professor Flickinger proposes to study what he calls the "environment," the moulding pressure of the unescapable physical, technical, ceremonial, and social conditions in which he worked upon the Greek tragedian's art.

Environment, detached from material condition and thus generalized, might include everything. But Professor Flickinger defines his aim. His book is neither a systematic manual of dramatic antiquities nor an æsthetic and philosophic study of the style, poetic diction, character-drawing, and criticism of life of the Greek tragedy. It is literary criticism of what the older writers called the "economy" or the "management" in the light of a specialist's acquaintance with the conditions of production of a Greek play. In successive chapters he studies the influence of religious origin, of choral origin, of the actors, of festival arrangements, of physical conditions, of national customs and ideas, of theatrical machinery and conventions. I will not tease him with the cavil that these divisions are neither exhaustive nor exclusive of one another, and that the first and the next to the last awaken expectations which they disappoint. The score of God's creation is not, like that of Haydn, crossed with bars, and there is no exhaustive and definitive classification of all the facts of any historical evolution. The titles of Professor Flickinger's chapters are sufficient rubrics under which the women of various types and social orders are involved. Most of them are ready to be loved by Pierce Phillips, but the right one gets him at last. The giant woodsman 'Poleon Doret is the blameless one of the tale, and deserves what he wins. It is all very well, if we could only believe that the author had felt the story instead of grinding it out according to the too easily accepted rule.

"The Triumph of John Kars," "The Lure of the North," and "The Peace of Roaring River" are other tales of the Northwest skilfully compounded according to the recipe. Mr. Cullum achieves more novelty with his fat villain than with his gigantic hero. The stake is a golden river guarded by Indians who are the puppets of the villain until the right hour strikes for that gentleman to "get his," and so to make way for a more popular character. These two are rivals in love also, alas for the fat man! "The Lure of the North" is extremely British, like all this writer's (thirty-odd) stories. Here are the usual well-bred pair from civilization linked together by an action in the Canadian "Bush," and making steadily through the necessary vicissitudes towards the happy ending anybody can see coming from the first page. Gold again: but when do we ever get enough of gold? "The Peace of Roaring River" is uncommon because its "love-interest" is really the main thing, and not simply a commodity more or less perfunctorily lugged along our trail. It rests on a new situation, which is developed with more romantic skill and delicacy than are commonly expended on frontier fiction. In "Benton of the Royal Mounted" we get a really fresh savour. The author is an ex-sergeant of the Mounted Police, and writes directly from experience. His book has amateurish qualities and defects, but at least it is not merely made up "out of his head" with the help of data gathered for the purpose. Sergeant Benton is unmistakably a portrait of a man, a hard-bitten customer by no means bathed in that sentimental spotlight which yields so soft a glamour to the boldest official hero. The sergeant has a word of his own to say about the popular conception of "the Force"; "Sounds all hunkadory. . . . But unfortunately it ain't true . . . all that poppycock that's written about the Force. An' oh—always in a bloomin' red serge, of course, no matter what dirty job they're on . . . never a stable-jacket." The Sergeant is that not unprecedented figure in Northwestern romance, an Englishman of good birth who has fallen out with his family and taken to a life of honest adventure. But between whiles we get a vivid picture of him in a service which demands daily miracles of its handful of devotees.

"Venus in the East" is described by its publishers as "a satire on metropolitan life," but its satirical range is wider than that. It shows a "Buddy McNair" who has grown up in a Colorado gold camp without any of the experiences alleged to be the commonplaces of such an existence. At Axe Creek he has invented a process for reducing waste ores and made a fortune thereby; but he has never "toted a gun." However, when he sets out for the East and adventure, he slips a six-shooter into his pocket so that the New Yorkers may recognize him for a Westerner. "Axe Creek is a good little town," he admits to the girl on the train who is out for local color. "Of course if you're looking for Bret Harte you'll find more of him in the Boston Public Library." The lady refuses to believe him: "You must have sombreros and flying lariats and gun play up and down your main street," she insists. "Lots of it," he agrees. "We have two moving picture theatres. . . . They're very popular with the boys around the camp. Cowboy scenes and holdups are the favorites. We've even learned a lot of rough words, like *pronto* and *hombre*, off the captions." Whatever his deficiencies as a desperado, Buddy plays the conventional Western rôle pretty thoroughly in the metropolis. The sum of his adventures is a piece of highly amusing light comedy, with an excellent moral and a sentimental ending which must have given the witty chronicler much cause for secret laughter.

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groups his collections of the accepted commonplaces about the Greek drama and a large number of acute and interesting observations of his own.

By the influence of religion he does not mean that obsessed preoccupation with prehistoric origins which threatens to muddle the heads and corrupt the scholarship of our generation, but merely the traceable influence upon Greek dramatic practice of current religious ideas and the fact that the performance was itself a religious festival. Even within these limits the spirit of the age once or twice seduces him into what is perhaps an excessive ingenuity. He deduces the Horatian precept that Medea must not butcher her children on the stage from the fact that "the person of the actor was for the time being sacrosanct. . . . The taboo which has been derived from ancient ritual prevented one actor from murdering another on the stage." But perhaps he is only trying to show that he can beat Miss Jane Harrison, Mr. Cornford, and Mrs. Elsie Clew Parsons at their own game.

Space fails to summarize the wealth of fact and suggestion in these compact and scholarly chapters. Their peculiar excellence is the judicious and rightly proportioned blending of the unavoidable commonplaces of the traditional criticism with the expert's special knowledge and with pertinent illustrations from modern dramatic practice. Professor Flickinger does not evade difficulties even when he is unable to solve them. And with the aid of the index the student will readily find there the present state of our knowledge about almost any matter of which a professed handbook of the subject would treat.

We have thus far followed the author's advice and provisionally disregarded the introduction, which fills a full third of the volume. It deals with the two questions which have specially occupied American scholarship and to which the author himself has contributed not a little: (1) the origin and pre-Æschylean history of the Greek drama; (2) the problem of the Greek stage and the problem of the reconstruction of the Greek theatre from the extant remains. If we admit the author's Baconian principle that truth emerges more quickly from error than from confusion, we can feel nothing but admiration for the erudition that enables him to reduce to at least a conjectural order the confusion of fragmentary ancient testimonies, the evidence of the monuments, the hypotheses of modern scholarship, the possible equivocations of "goat-song" and "dithyramb" and "satyric drama" the evolutions and cross fertilizations of equine Sileni and caprine satyrs, and, most baffling of all, the nice distinctions of the first, second, and third manners of a Wilamowitz or a Dörpfeld as the phases of their opinions shift and alter from decade to decade and from year to year. Only an expert can follow in detail and profitably criticise this chapter. Graduate students in a seminar in Greek tragedy might possibly be induced to remember a little of it for a week. But all students may safely consult it in confidence that they will find here the known facts honestly distinguished from the conjectures of either the author or his teachers. And he who runs or merely turns the pages may appreciate the wealth of excellent illustrations and plans that accompanies the description and discussion of the extant remains of all significant Greek and Roman theatres.

Professor Flickinger is a convinced and unflinching advocate of the view that the elevated stage is a late innovation, and that in the classical period the actors always stood on the level of the orchestra. But he presents the evidence fairly and never loses his temper with the unscientific adherents to the older tradition. At the most one might take exception to his final formulation "that the irreducible minimum as shown by the plays themselves is that there can have been no place elevated much or little reserved exclusively for the actors." The belief in the probability that there was some sort of a low stage for some purposes even in early times does not postulate that it was reserved *exclusively* for the actors. On the contrary, it rests largely on the facility of communication, however managed, between a low stage and the orchestra. As for the evidence of the plays themselves, recent experience seems to show that a Greek play will go on any stage, and with almost any *opsis*, setting, or costuming. All depends on the actors—on the voice and utterance of the tongue. If Antigone recites her lines well she will draw tears to the horny eyes of old professors though she enter by the *parodos* of two bushes and takes her stand in front of a whitewashed pine shanty on the campus of a small American college. Alcestis, Œdipus, Clytemnestra, get their effects on the stage of modern Athens, at the Théâtre Francais, in the ruins of Syracuse or Orange, at the Gymnasium of Bismarck in Berlin, and in the Harvard stadium. All depends on the ability of the actors to speak and the capacity of the audience to appreciate speech. The comparisons of Greek tragedy to the opera, the oratorio, the mediaeval mystery, are suggestive for some purposes, but may be easily pressed too far, to the neglect of what is fundamental. Greek tragedy is the cultural antithesis of the modern movie as foreseen by Horace:

> migravit ab aure voluptas
> omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.

More Frontier Romance

The Winds of Chance. By Rex Beach. New York: Harper & Brothers.
The Triumph of John Kars. By Ridgwell Cullum. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.
The Lure of the North. By Harold Bindloss. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.
The Peace of Roaring River. By George Van Schaick. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.
Benton of the Royal Mounted. By Ralph H. Kendall. New York: John Lane Company.
Venus in the East. By Wallace Irwin. New York: George H. Doran Company.

All through the war, a certain class or type of reader has been doggedly demanding its favorite dish, its frontier romance, just as if nothing "red-blooded" enough were going on in the world of fact. So also the plain detective story has flourished alongside the special spy and secret service literature of the hour. Vague vicarious adventurers feel much safer with the usual thing than with the ill-regulated and disturbing business somehow going on (without their permission) "over there."

The truth is, no more conventional class exists than your inveterate quaffers of red blood as served in the paper cups of the accommodating book-trade. Out of a dozen frontier stories of the season that lie before us, only three or four make any effort to escape the formula long since established for this kind of thing. Rex Beach is a current practitioner who has done spontaneous work in this field; even Mr. Wister has given him the hand of fellowship. But it is a limited field, and Mr. Beach is now playing about there almost as perfunctorily as the rest. "Wind of Chance" is the title of this story; alas, there is no hiding from ourselves the fact that the hero and his affairs are under the author's thumb from the go-off. He is the Æolus of the winds aforesaid. Pierce Phillips, our young adventurer, is as helpless and as safe with him as the pea in the hands of the thimble-rigger who appears in the opening chapter. It is still early days in the gold-rush to the Yukon. Among the thousands who throng towards the Chilkoot is our ingenuous lad: "To the young and the foot-free Adventure lurks just over the hill; Life opens from the crest of the very next divide." In short, he is going north for the fun of it, rather than for gold. He throws away all his money on a shell-game in Dyea, to start with, and has to earn his stake for entrance to the land of treasure—a thousand dollars and a ton of provisions, by recent decree of the Canadian Mounted Police—"packing" outfits up the terrible trail on the first stage of the Northward journey. Luckily he is a Hercules as well as an Apollo. In the adventures that follow thick and fast—adventurers of the trail rather than of the mining camp—a surprising number of

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A Sheaf of War Books

OF the making of war there is an end. Of the making of war books there is none. For some time to come these volumes will appear upon our tables. Few are of literary value. They will appeal, however, to the men and women whose sons are engaged in some particular part of war's many activities, and the personal narrative will be held dear by the friends of that personality whom they portray. They will fill the weary weeks of waiting before our soldiers come home. In this way they will serve their purpose.

Mr. F. G. T. Bayes, who was a passenger on the Japanese steamer "Hitachi Maru" when the vessel was captured by the German raider "Wolf" in September of 1917, has written pleasantly of his experiences on board the German ship.[1] Henri Bordeaux has performed the task which awaited a capable pen. He has given us the life of Guynemer and in a well-illustrated volume has told the story of this strange youth who flew into fame and then flew out of life with his shy and uncomprehending smile as if he questioned the purpose of so much energy and courage wasted upon so destructive a task. Having served in both the French and American armies William Yorke Stevenson tells of his adventures in "From Poilu to Yank."

A peculiar interest attaches to the boyish letters collected by Grace Ellery Channing from the aviator Edmond Genet of the Lafayette Escadrille. This young American descendant of Citizen Genet, who gave his life for the land of his ancestors, was one of the first of our boys to fall in France.

A Poet of the Air, Jack Wright, reveals through his letters a young American, reading in the midst of war "Madame Bovary," "La Femme de Trente Ans," and O. Henry, asking his mother to send him "Vanity Fair" and "The Seven Arts," speaking of the pleasures of tea and the charm of the Isadorables. He reminds one of Rupert Brooke. The Ambulance Service proved too dull for the boy, and it was just as he had all but learned to be a flier and had become a commissioned officer that his machine fell to the ground and he was killed. He is, quite understandably, an egoist, and his letters consequently have a more literary turn, in spite of their reality, than the letters of Edwin Austin Abbey. This young man of twenty-eight was moved by a somewhat austere faith in the triumph of good over evil. His home letters are free of sentimentalism; he looks into danger with conviction and a purpose. He was an engineer and died on Vimy Ridge in April, 1917. Both were college men, Jack Wright a freshman in Harvard; Edwin Abbey a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania.

What it meant to sail the seas in spite of the submarine, and particularly before the merchant marine was allowed to mount guns, appears in "The Odyssey of a Torpedoed Transport," under which title Grace Fallow Norton has translated the series of letters from a young French officer, first published in the *Revue de Paris*. The writer's ship, the "Pamir," after many encounters in the war zones, was finally sunk in 1917, according to official German reports. The book has savor and will not readily be passed over by readers of the better appetite. As the translator says, the writer had a great relish for life, and a passion for human nature.

"The Vanguard of American Volunteers" contains sketches of Allan Seeger, Thaw, Edmond Genet, Lufbery, and other pioneers who blazed the way for the five million American volunteers that were to follow. The letters of a student soldier included in Wainwright Merrill's "A College Man in Khaki" are excellent as illustrating the spirit in which so many of our highly educated youths left their studies to help make the world safe for culture as distinct from Kultur.

Fred Mitchell's War Story is in the more involved style of the uneducated. But his experiences were unique. A famous jockey, he was living in a small village in the north of France. When the Germans occupied the town he stayed to care for his kennels of eighty-seven beautiful dogs. He was forced to bake bread for the army of occupation, and while being sent into Paris to buy tobacco for the Germans he carried messages to the French. He and his son were eventually taken prisoner, and he was obliged to kill most of his starving pets.

Captain Carroll J. Swann's "My Company" describes the author's adventures at the front with D Company, 101st United States Engineers, which had formerly been D Company, First Corps Cadets of Massachusetts, and has a record that reaches back to 1741.

"Stories of Americans in the World War" is a collection of poems, newspaper items and letters from soldiers. It is a dubious undigestible medley.

Six women[2] also describe their share in the excitement behind the lines. Madeleine Z. Doty travelled around the world in 1918. She passed through Japan and China; stayed for a time in Petrograd during the Bolshevik Revolution, went on through Sweden, Norway, France, then back to England and home again. The trip was too hurried for the formation of valuable opinion, though Miss Doty's personal adventures are interesting. The book is written in short, sharp sentences which add further to the breathlessness of her journey, so that the reader feels much like Alice in the hands of the Red Queen.

Enid Bagnold has given us an animated but rather trivial impression of her experience in an English hospital. Her outstanding emotion seems to be incompatibility with the solemn Sisters of the wards. Yet it is certainly entertaining to read an account of the work from a woman so individual. A bare and colorless, though perfectly adequate, description such as Miss Amy Bradley has given us in her letters home, is difficult to read. The novelty in tales of nursing and motor driving behind the lines had worn off before the war ended.

The obliterating sense of isolation experienced during the tide of battle is brought home in Henriette Cuvru-Margot's diary of the first battle of the Marne.

Isabel Anderson's book, "Zigzagging," deals with her war work, which included experience as head of a canteen in Washington and as a private in Europe. Any money she receives from its sale is to be given to the Red Cross.

The letters written from the front by Julia C. Stimson, who served in a British Base Hospital during the last dangerous drive of the Germans have been edited by Henry A. Stimson.

William L. Stidger of the Y. M. C. A.[3] has written a story which, illustrated in silhouette by Jessie Gillespie, makes one of the most attractive of war gift-books. Another book devoted to the work of the Y. M. C. A. is from the pen of Daniel A. Poling.

Major S. J. M. Auld, who came to this country to teach our soldiers the intricacies of gas warfare, has combined all available information about gas and flame warfare in a handbook on these most horrible of modern inventions. Our pioneer submarine builder, Simon Lake, has seen his own invention developed into a monster that threatens to make naval warfare an impossibility.

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[1] *A Captive of a German Raider.* By F. G. T. Bayes. McBride. $1.50.
Guynemer, Knight of the Air. By Henry Bordeaux. Yale University Press. $1.50.
From Poilu to Yank. By William Yorke Stevenson. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50.
War Letters of Edmond Genet. Scribners. $1.50.
A Poet of the Air. Letters of Jack Wright. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50.
An American Soldier. Letters of Edwin Austin Abbey. Houghton Mifflin. $1.35.
The Odyssey of a Torpedoed Transport. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25.
The Vanguard of American Volunteers. Scribners. $1.50.
A College Man in Khaki By Wainwright Merrill. Doran. $1.50.
Fred Mitchell's War Story. Knopf. $1.50.
My Company. By Captain Carroll J. Swann. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50.
Stories of Americans in the World War. Institute for Public Service.

[2] *Behind the Battle Line.* By Madeleine Z. Doty. Macmillan. $1.25.
A Diary Without Dates. By Enid Bagnold. Luce.
Back of the Front in France. By Amy Owen Bradley. Butterfield. $1.50.
Beyond the Marne. By Henriette Cuvru-Margot. Small Maynard. $1.
Zigzagging. By Isabel Anderson. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50.
Finding Themselves. By Julia C. Stimson. Macmillan. $1.25.

[3] *Soldier Silhouettes on Our Front.* By William E. Stidger. Scribners. $1.25.
Huts in Hell. By Daniel A. Poling. Christian Endeavor World. $1.35.

[4] *Gas and Flame in Modern Warfare.* By S. J. M. Auld. Doran. $1.35.
The Submarine in War and Peace. By Simon Lake. Lippincott. $3.
The British Fleet in the Great War. By Archibald Hurd. McBride. $2.50.
Our Navy in the War. By Lawrence Perry. Scribners. $1.50.
German Submarine Warfare. By Wesley Frost. Appleton. $1.50.

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Archibald Hurd's "The British Fleet in the Great War" contains among other matter, a full and definitive account of the battle of Jutland, which he compares, both in its circumstances and in its results, with the Battle of Trafalgar. Lawrence Perry's "Our Navy in the War" describes the condition of our navy before the war and unfolds its record of achievement in recruiting, building, convoying and fighting.

Another book dealing with the war at sea is Wesley Frost's "German Submarine Warfare." As United States Consul-General at Queenstown Mr. Frost examined the reports of hundreds of the survivors of torpedoed ships. In the last chapter of the book proper is a summary of the indictment against the methods of submarine warfare. Six supplementary chapters are devoted to the "Crime of the Lusitania."

The famous secret newspapers printed in Belgium to the great annoyance of the German authorities were worthy of a lasting record. Jean Massart has made them the subject of a special volume.[5]

The not less famous (and infamous) labors of Germany's bombing squad in the United States are preserved for posterity by the work of John Price Jones and Paul Merrick Hollister. "Fighting Germany's Spies" describes the activities of Bernstorff, Papen, and others, and how they were successfully combated by our secret service.

The adventures of Secretary Baker in France have been done into a hasty but attractive little volume by his private secretary, Ralph A. Hayes.[6] Clara E. Laughlin has written a useful and compact biography of Foch, the Man, having taken most of her material from an earlier book by René Puaux. The everlasting question of militia or conscription (for what else does a "nation trained to arms" mean?) is decided in favor of the former by Lieutenant General Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven of the German Imperial Staff, who is warmly recommended to American and English readers by Major General Sir C. E. Callwell, K.C.B. Christian Gauss's "Why We Went to War" includes an account of the Lichnovsky and Mühlon documents, which went far to justify American intervention.

Ralph W. Page writes a breezy narrative of important episodes in his "Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy," including the negotiations with Spain leading up to the war of 1898, the German pretentions as to Samoa with the break at Manila between Dewey and Diederich and the creation of the Republic of Panama. Macmillan has published Mr. Masefield's two lectures delivered in the country early in 1918. They are richly poetic, with little pretence at analysis. The "Book of Nations" is an exalted appeal in Biblical language by a Zionist who would see the kingdom of Israel established in the brotherhood of nations.

Frank irredentist propaganda is "Italy's Great War," in which half a dozen Italian writers have collaborated. It is illustrated with photographs of Italian scenes and is introduced by a foreword from the pen of H. Nelson Gay, giving the history of Austrian domination in Italy down to the year 1866.

"Understanding South America" the publisher urges us to buy because it explains Latin America, "its industries, its institutions and our opportunity." Fortunately, Mr. Cooper, the author, does not live up to the advertisement. He is discreet about our opportunity. He makes us see South America, not only as an exclusive hunting-ground for the industrious drummer and the dumping place for our excess manufacturies.

In the Home University Library another volume has appeared, a History of Serbia, by L. F. Waring of Trinity College, Dublin. This small book is as valuable as most of its little sisters which Henry Holt faithfully imports into this country. The Balkan question stands shivering in the Public Square of Versailles, waiting for a final settlement. We recommend this scholarly and faithful account to the Honorable Delegates to the Peace Conference.

France now looms big on America's horizon. The French people have seen American efficiency at work and have made up their minds to emulate the American example. American methods and American business procedure are at a high premium. The men behind this phenomenal development of energy and courage are the subject of an interesting study by Gustave Rodrigues. He adds women and children and gives so faithful a description of modern America that we regard the book as the happiest expression of the American spirit which has been published since the beginning of the war.

The psychist will welcome "They Do Not Die," by Charles A. Hall,[7] in which the author argues for the existence of a substantial spiritual world, and "Not Taps but Reveille," by Robert Gordon Anderson, wherein is described the comfort that comes to a bereaved mother from a conviction of the truth of survival.

Among the more fanciful books is "Gone Astray: Letters from an Emperor's Diary," which purports to set forth the ideas and opinions of William II regarding moral, domestic and political matters from the days of his boyhood to the present time. Fanciful also are "The Book of Artemas" and "Artemas, the Second Book," satirical records of recent developments in England, and "The Chronicle of Kan-Uk the Kute," by Frank Burne Black; also Simeon Strunsky's delightful "Little Journeys Towards Paris, 1914-1918," which he ascribes to W. Hohenzollern, Hon. Colonel Death's Head Hussars and Doctor of Sacred Theology (University of Essen). Fanciful also is Annie Marion MacLean's description of her friend Jane's battle with rheumatism in her little book with the suggestive title "Cheero," while those who prefer a cruder form of humor will appreciate Mr. Thorne Smith's "The Diary of a Hapless Recruit."

In Alice Hegan Rice's usual manner are the eight stories in her latest book, "Miss Mink's Soldier," the opening tale of which relates how an elderly spinster insisted on entertaining a strange soldier at dinner and what came of it. Henry Irving Dodge's "The Yellow Dog," is anti-"slacker" propaganda in story form—a disgusting book. Harry Lauder's volume, "A Minstrel in France," dedicated to the memory of his dead son, Captain John Lauder, is a readable account of his own and his son's adventures at the front, and contains several amusing anecdotes. It is enlivened by a few tolerable illustrations. "In the War Whirl in Washington," by Frank Ward O'Malley, is full of shrewd observations and humorous comment on the eccentricities of Washington in time of war. In one of his happiest passages he describes how a common or garden fountain pen can be used to temper the horrors of Peevo. Our old friends, Potash and Perlmutter, return to the stage in Montague Glass's "Worrying Won't Win," and discuss in their customary fashion the various phases of the war. The pictures are good. "Over Here Stories," by Timothy Hay, consists of eight dreary tales written to help the drive for the Third Liberty loan. They have nothing to recommend them save their obviously virtuous intention.

[5] *The Secret Press in Belgium.* By Jean Massart. Dutton. $1.50.
The German Secret Service in America. By John Paul Jones and Paul Merrick Hollister. Small Maynard. $2.

[6] *Secretary Baker at the Front.* By Ralph A. Hayes. Century. $1.
Foch, the Man. By Clara E. Laughlin. Revell. $1.
A Nation Trained in Arms or a Military? By von Freytag-Loringhoven. Putnam. 1.25.
Why We Went to War. Christian Gauss. Scribners. $1.50.
Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy. By Ralph W. Page. Doubleday Page.
The War and the Future. By John Masefield. Macmillan. $1.25.
The Book of Nations. Dutton. $1.
Italy's Great War. Alfieri and Lacroix, Milan.
Understanding South America. By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. Doran. $2.
Serbia. By L. F. Waring. Holt.
The People of Action. By Gustave Rodrigues. Scribners. $1.50.

[7] *They Do Not Die.* By Charles A. Hall. Black. $1.50.
Not Taps But Reveille. By Robert Gordon Anderson. Putnam. 50 cents.

[8] *Gone Astray.* Lane. $1.50.
The Book of Artemas. Doran. 50 cents.
Artemas, the Second Book. Doran. 50 cents.
The Chronicle of Kan-Uk the Kute. By Frank Brune Black. Putnam. $1.
Little Journeys Towards Paris. By Simeon Strunsky. Holt. 60 cents.
"Cheero." By Annie Marion MacLean. The Woman's Press. $1.25.
The Diary of a Hapless Recruit. By Thorne Smith. Stokes. 75 cents.
Miss Mink's Soldier. By Alice Hegan Rice. Century. $1.25.
The Yellow Dog. By Henry Irving Dodge. Harpers. 50 cents.
A Minstrel in France. By Harry Lauder. Hilco. $2.
In the War Whirl in Washington. By Frank Ward O'Malley. Century. $1.50.
Worrying Won't Win. By Montague Glass. Harpers. $1.50.
Over Here Stories. By Timothy Hay. Marshall Jones. 75 cents.

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Notes

IN the near future Robert M. McBride & Company will publish: "The Legend of the Glorious Adventures of Tyl Ulenspiegel," by Charles de Coster; "Behind the Wheel of a War Ambulance," by Robert Whitney Imbrie.

Alfred A. Knopf will publish immediately: "Tales and Tags," by A. J. L. and C. H. L., in the Borzoi Juvenile Series.

Longmans, Green & Company announces for publication in the near future the following volumes: "The Natural Organic Colouring Matters," by A. G. Perkin and A. E. Everest; "Catalysis in Industrial Chemistry," by G. G. Henderson; "The People's Palace," by Sacheverell Sitwell; "Wheels, 1918"; "A Dream of Youth," by Martin Browne; "Facts of Faith," by H. Scott Holland; "Father Stanton's Sermon Outlines," second series; "Treasures of Hope for the Evening of Life," by George Congreve; "The Christian Year in War Time," by Edward Shillito; "Sainthood: Retreat Addresses," by Jesse Brett; "Ships' Boats: Their Qualities, Construction, etc.," by Ernest W. Blocksidge; "Petrol and Petroleum Spirits," by Wilfred E. Guttentag; "An Introduction to General Physiology," by William Maddock Bayliss; "The International Relations of the Chinese Empire," volumes 2 and 3, by Hosea Ballou Morse; "Krishna's Flute and Other Poems," by N. V. Thadani.

THERE is little that is new in the text of Thomas Fletcher Royds's little book "Virgil and Isaiah" (Longmans, Green; $1.75), which is based largely upon that standard authority on the vexed question of the Fourth Eclogue, "The Messianic Eclogue," by Joseph B. Mayor, W. Wade Fowler, and R. S. Conway—a work consisting of three essays, written independently, but all, to some extent, covering the same ground and reaching the same conclusion. According to these authorities, Virgil's expected Messiah—the *puer* of the Eclogue—can be no other than one of the Cæsars. The present author frankly treats Virgil as a prophet with a message for our own times. "He was a great poet," Mr. Royds says, "and I have ventured to compare him freely with a greater. But the task of interpreting Isaiah is complicated by the fact that he spoke his prophecies, and that the text of the book that bears his name is often corrupt and its date and authorship uncertain. The Eclogues and the Georgics, on the other hand, received the final touches of their master, and in the Fourth Eclogue the reading is only doubtful in one passage of importance." In the author's view, Virgil, like Isaiah, was a real prophet of Christ, and he boldly echoes the old Christmas salutation—all the more fervently because it was used in Rheims Cathedral: "O Maro, prophet of the Gentiles, bear thou thy witness unto Christ." Not the least interesting things in the book are the author's translations of the Eclogue into English hexameters and into Biblical prose—the latter, as might have been expected, much better than the former.

FOR some years before his death Swinburne spoke frequently of a plan to gather together his various poems on childhood or addressed to children, but he died before the project reached fulfilment. What he wished done has now been gracefully accomplished by Mr. Edmund Gosse in the volume happily named "The Springtide of Life" (Heinemann) to which Mr. Arthur Rackham has contributed a series of delicate and sympathetic illustrations that catch the very mood of unreasoning and slightly fantastic tenderness that the poet lavished upon the young objects of his devotion. In his brief preface, Mr. Gosse makes no effort to trace the development of this side of Swinburne's genius. Except for a single chance passage in Atlanta the mood of child-worship does not appear until about 1876 and does not reach full expression until the life at Putney was well begun. The example of Landor's love of children may have helped to guide his thoughts in this direction; certainly the author of "L'Art d'être Grandpère" taught him much. But beneath the literary inspiration there was a deep and beautiful sincerity and the strongest inspiration was Watts-Dunton's little nephew Herbert W. Mason, whose frequent sojourns at "The Pines" shed so soft a light over the household there. Mr. Gosse, whose biography of the poet is inadequate in many respects when dealing with the "Putney period," never mentions "Bertie" in the Life, and there is no indication in this collection of the large number of poems suggested by him or addressed to him. Despite the monotony of subject which renders more obvious certain defects in Swinburne's powers, "The Springtide of Life" reveals the poet in a lovely aspect, bathed in "the light of little children and their love."

CAN it be forty years since Mary P. Wells Smith began writing books for children? "Jolly Good Times" is as fresh as ever, and the old farm of her childhood is as cheerful as ever, though now the cows are milked by machinery. A third generation of children figure in "Five in a Ford," (Little Brown; $1.35) which is said to end the Summer vacation series. Within the last few years there have appeared "Two in a Bungalow," "Three in a Camp," and "Four on a Farm," which have brought wholesome pleasure to many young folks. "Three in a Camp" as a description of a characteristically American type of summering, has found favor in various foreign countries. But Mrs. Smith's historical stories have doubtless been her most valued contribution to children's literature. The Old Deerfield series and the Young Puritan series have made the early history of Massachusetts and the French and Indian wars matters of intimate knowledge to hundreds of children, and have done more than countless teachers and textbooks to provoke a permanent interest in history. After reading these children are ready for Parkman. Mrs. Smith's passion for accuracy is nicely balanced with a very human quality and a refreshing humor. Her boys and girls are real boys and girls even in historic setting, and heroic adventures do not distort them into stuffed heroes. Perhaps she may yet be tempted to link the old and the new New England by writing of the present settlers along the Connecticut, the thriftly peasants who have caught up the frayed edges of Massachusetts farming, and have transformed that historic plateau into one vast onion field, where amid the long copper-colored rows of drying onions, women with bright kerchiefs and wide skirts make a new Poland.

AS if inspired with a premonition of events in which their science would play a greater rôle than ever before, the American Statistical Association arranged to mark their seventy-fifth anniversary by the publication of "The History of Statistics" (Macmillan; $7.50). The leading statisticians of the civilized world contributed memoirs on the history and present state of tabulated knowledge in their respective countries. Now that the Governments which controlled the gathering and presentation of these facts have in some cases been abolished, political motives which effectively hampered unbiassed and accurate statement in their statistics may also be eliminated. In this as well as many other respects the United States may be proud of the extent and continuity of its statistical interests. During the past few years there has been imperative need for careful inventories of resources on which to base estimates of world-wide importance, and a reading of the papers in the memorial volume shows the need of support for scientific collection and publication of international statistics.

TO the student interested in the historical and critical study of the first three gospels, so far as such study is possible on the basis of an English translation, we recommend as a primary source, "A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels" (Scribners) edited by Professors E. D. Burton and E. J. Goodspeed of the University of Chicago. The arrangement of the material is obviously the result of continuous and mature deliberation. Dr. Burton has some very definite theories on the Synoptic problem, but the editors have not succumbed to the temptation of allowing his particular theory to influence the order of the sections. Their sole purpose, which has been realized, is "to set the texts of the several gospels in such parallelism as will make the facts themselves tell their own story" independently, as far as

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such independence is possible, of all theories. The order of Mark controls and the order of Luke is preferred to that of Matthew, the result of the application of these regulations being a harmony in which all sections of Mark and of Luke (with one exception) stand in their own order, and all sections of Matthew stand in their own order up to iv, 25 and from xiv, 1 on. The annoying problem of assigning suitable titles to the one hundred and eighty-six sections into which this harmony divides the material has been, with a few exceptions, satisfactorily solved. The translation employed is that of the American Revision. Later on, it may be added, scholars may expect from the same professors a harmony of similar character but using the Greek text; what text may be in mind is not specified.

HENRY F. Cope's "Religious Education in the Church" (Scribners; $1.25) owes its vague title to the author's broad view of education. The book is a well-informed discussion of the mission of the Church to-day and the methods of discharging it, and Mr. Cope calls upon the church to face the demand that it justify its existence. There are several pounds of general psychology to one of its application to preaching in Charles S. Gardner's "Psychology and Preaching" (Macmillan; $2). The artillery preparation, as it were, is out of proportion to the ground gained. Nevertheless, the usefulness of the volume is plain, and perhaps most preachers who read it will be able to make their own applications of its exposition. "The Secret of Personality" (Longmans; $1.50), by George Trumbull Ladd, deals with the problem of man's personal life. The centre of personality Professor Ladd finds in the will, and its secret is bound up in man's two-fold nature. He would look for the solution of the mystery "in the form of a religious belief that opens before the mind and heart the hope of an immortality which gives a chance for the realization, progressively, of the personal ideal."

THE war has sharpened interest in the question of immortality. It is hardly likely that anybody's views will be changed by James H. Snowden's volume, "Can We Believe in Immortality?" (Macmillan; $1.25). Familiar ground is traversed; familiar arguments are rehearsed. The purpose of P. T. Forsyth's little book, "This Life and the Next" (Macmillan; $1), is to consider the reaction of belief in a future life upon this life. In general his point of view is narrowly religious.

AN interesting and measurably successful effort to humanize the Freudian doctrine and method and make them generally intelligible is Dr. H. W. Frink's "Morbid Fears and Compulsions" (Moffatt, Yard; $4). By practically no previous writer among Freud's disciples have the inherent difficulties of the subject been in the least diminished. Here all that is changed, and in place of the obscurity of the previous works we have lucidity and perception of where the difficulties lie; in place of arid dulness, a sympathetic style that makes the book pleasant reading. Its first half is devoted to exposition, profitably and amusingly illustrated by analysis of a series of cartoons, which, the author says, resemble dreams because there is a distinction between their manifest and their latent content. The second half contains an extended analysis of two cases, one of morbid fear, or anxiety hysteria, the other of morbid compulsion. What we have said above of the shortcomings of writers on psychoanalysis is well illustrated by the passage devoted to Freud by Katherine Taylor Craig in "The Fabric of Dreams" (Dutton; $2.50). We think that this is so partly because she is personally more attracted by the older methods of dream interpretation than by the modern. The book is really a survey of man's inquiry into the nature of dreams rather than an actual study of dreams, and within these limits it covers the ground with fair completeness. Included in the volume is a list of dream symbols, for which the author characteristically goes to ancient writers more often than to modern ones, although beside the names of Artemidorus and Isaiah appear those of Freud, Frazer, and Hartmann. The last hundred pages contain a description of the ancient art of geomancy, the practice of which would be, we think, quite as amusing as dalliance with the ouija board.

MESSRS. CECIL FAIRCHILD LAVELL and Charles Edward Payne of the historical department of Grinnell College, have hastened to take advantage of the present interest in the development of the British Empire by writing a volume on "Imperial England" (Macmillan). Their work shows the influence of the demand for speed which is so characteristic of the present moment, and it shows little else. There are so many excellent books upon this highly intricate problem that it is a pity to add to their number unless a writer has actually something new to contribute.

THE Chicago Historical Society has just put out through the University of Chicago Press the tenth volume of its collections, a history of the Illinois and Michigan canal project, by Professor James W. Putnam, of Butler College. It is a most timely study, in view of the reviving interest in water transportation. There is a great deal of the romance of commerce in the history of this project, and the author has made good use of it to help on the readableness of his work. Professor Putnam has the right economic point of view, and we hope his book will be as influential as it should be, particularly with the new Canal Section of the Railway Administration.

ENGLAND at war has taught us many things; and one of the most important lessons that we may learn from her experience concerns the provision of adequate machinery for insuring the health and welfare of the industrial worker—aptly termed by J. E. Hutton, author of "Welfare and Housing" (Longmans, Green; $1.50), physiological management. Mr. Hutton, who is manager of the Labor and Catering Department of the great shipbuilding firm of Vickers Limited, employing over one hundred thousand persons, condenses the results of an extensive and intensive experience in this little book. He points out that in dealing with this branch of industrial organization "the management must be prepared not only to appoint some person or persons whose whole time is to be devoted to the intricate study of the questions which arise, but also to recognize that this authority, once constituted, is as integral a part of the works management as the engineering or any other branch, and has an equal weight in the counsels of the establishment." The problems of physiological management include the engaging and dismissing of labor, the relation between wages and health, and efficiency, causes of absenteeism, clothing and general tidiness of employees, provision of cloakrooms and sanitary conveniences, ventilation and control of overcrowding, factory lighting and heating, shop cleanliness, safety, first aid, and efficiency appliances. Mr. Hutton's book will scarcely appeal to the general reader, but contains much information which should be helpful to managers and owners of industrial plants and all who are interested in the details of factory management.

FROM the lips of the son of a Dakota warrior (Rev. P. J. Deloria), Sarah Emilia Olden has taken notes of many old customs and rituals of the Sioux. ("The People of Tipi Sapa;" Milwaukee; Morehouse, $2.50.) The illustrations are from interesting old prints and paintings. For many years Tipi Sapa has been a missionary among his people. His memories of the old life are vivid, but the writer who has set down his reminiscences writes with a Christian pen.

TO fill the need for a book on the general principles of accounting, W. A. Paton, of the University of Michigan, and R. A. Stevenson, of the University of Iowa, have prepared a text which is both scientific and broad without being a mere bookkeeper's manual. "Principles of Accounting" (Macmillan; $3.25) aims at a treatment which will make the subject intelligible to students, who are often repelled by studying the specific routine of business offices, and fail to realize the need of a thorough grasp of the theory of accounts before quantitative determinations can be reached in economic studies. The discussion of valuation differs from that in many texts, and much attention is devoted to interest. In contrast with the usual method, the authors maintain that in their presentation "The business enterprise in its entirety has been emphasized as the accounting unit of organization, and an attempt has been made to state the theory of accounts in terms of the needs and purposes of all the equities in the enterprise rather than from the standpoint of any particular interest."

A SHORT book, "The Whys and Wherefores of Navigation" (Van Nostrand; $2), by Gershom Bradford second, has been published to explain the problems of navigation to the men who do their work by rote. Such standard works as that of

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Bowditch appal the seamen with little preliminary education, and it may be that this smaller volume will appear less formidable. Yet it does not make the subject seem more simple, or more easily understood. Unfortunately the very men who fear the standard books are those who do not seek to learn the whys and wherefores.

THE Hebrew word *Kadimah* means both "eastward" and "forward." It was the name of the first Zionistic college society in Western Europe. The same name, which expresses the national as well as the general progressive aspirations of the Jews, was adopted by the Intercollegiate Zionist Association of America, a federation of Zionist societies at American universities, for a volume of essays dealing with the various aspects of the movement. (*Kadimah.* Federation of American Zionists.) Particular attention may be called to the article of Samuel Rodman on the Jewish Legion, which has been fighting under General Allenby on the Palestinian front, to Professor Harry Friedenwald's study of the Sanitary Problems of Palestine, and to Moshe Mnuchin's elaborate account of the Educational Institutions of Palestine. The editor is Dr. David S. Blondheim, of Johns Hopkins University. The volume is dedicated to Dr. Chayyim Weitzman, the chairman of the Zionist Administrative Commission which the British Government sent recently to Palestine.

Music

THE second Thursday evening concert of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the first in New York under the conductorship of the new leader, Henri Rabaud, was disappointing and promising, if one concert can be both. The orchestra has been so thoroughly remade, one-third of its personnel and nationality having been changed, that its perfect unity and sensitive pliability have vanished, and for the time being the customary Boston audience will have to lean back and hear rough tone and rough attack, over-quick tempo, and noisy rush as substitutes for *nuance* and sure interpretation, and hope for better days to come. M. Rabaud made the impression of a careful student and interpreter, a classicist, perhaps the very man to build up a scattered group, though in changing the position of his violins separating the four first violins from the rest of the group—an old French plan, seeking to emphasize the best strings of the orchestra—he seems to use an outworn plan. He chose Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony and it seemed as if the first movement revealed every weakness an orchestra could possess. The tempo was rushed, the violins blundered, and gloom settled on the listeners. However, the second and third movements were better, and in the last there were really beautiful moments. "La Jeunesse d'Hercule" of Saint-Säens, and a "Caprice" on Spanish themes by Rimsky-Korsakoff completed the programme. In the last composition Rimsky-Korsakoff has taken folk themes whose value and beauty lay in the personal interpretation of the singer or player, and has enlarged and spread through the vast orchestra the very personal music of instinctive people. The composer seemed to realize the difficulty of conveying, through the orchestra, the essence of the themes, and gave the first violin an opportunity for vivacious interpretative playing, beautifully done by the conzertmeister. The last two compositions were well-handled and gave hopeful reassurance to a very friendly audience. W.

Amusements

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Drama

The Shakespeare Playhouse

THE Shakespeare Playhouse, of which Frank McEntee is the director, and whose present sphere of action is the Plymouth Theatre, is an enterprise worthy of all encouragement by those educational institutions for whose especial benefit it was primarily organized. It is gratifying to know that, up to the present moment, its necessarily limited operations have met with substantial favor and support. In the present degenerate condition of the theatre, which is largely abandoned to purely commercial, ephemeral, frivolous, or demoralizing entertainments, any movement calculated to foster in the rising generation a knowledge and appreciation of the great masterpieces of the literary drama is of great public interest and importance. In revealing to the young the treasures of an almost unknown world of romance and illusion it is creating audiences of the future which will demand something better than the current contemptible substitutes for true dramatic art. It must not be supposed, however, that, because they are specially prepared for the young, there is anything juvenile about these performances. On the contrary, they need fear no fair comparison with any of the more pretentious and extensively advertised productions of recent times, and are well worth the attention of any old playgoer who can spare the time to see them. It is unfortunate that, for various reasons, they must be given at what are, for most active adults, inconvenient hours. But it should be noted that not a few grey heads are to be found among the delighted crowds of youthful spectators.

This year the work of the Playhouse is proceeding amid conditions superior to those of last winter, the Plymouth being a most comfortable and capacious house. It began with a revival of the "Hamlet" in which Walter Hampden created so marked an impression last winter. He was supported by many of his former associates, including the excellent Polonius of Albert Bruning and the more than commonly capable King of Charles A. Stevenson. The general representation—which, it must be remembered, was entirely independent of merely spectacular attractions, being given before a background of draperies—was well-balanced, spirited, intelligent, interesting, and constantly effective. That there were weak spots in it here and there need not be denied—without them we should have had a miracle—but it was singularly free from the gross ineptitudes and slovenliness with which the ordinary Shakespearean revival is too often marred. The most notable feature of it, undoubtedly, was the Prince of Mr. Hampden, an impersonation chiefly remarkable, perhaps, for the evidence it afforded of conscientious personal study and conviction. While observance of tradition—with which almost every line of the part is burdened—it manifested a whole-

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some independence of judgment. It was reasonable, consistent, virile, and human, and if not preëminent in intellectual subtlety, romantic charm, oratorical grace, or artistic finish, it exhibited all those qualities in lesser degree and suggested everywhere a capacity for unlimited development.

His Macbeth, seen last Saturday morning by an audience which filled all available space in the theatre, is another achievement of solid merit, but it is too soon yet to write about it definitively. It is, however, full of promise. Mr. Hampden has many valuable physical qualifications for this and other parts of similar heroic dimensions—a fine figure, face, voice, and carriage. His conception of the character is clear and sound, but somewhat halting and imperfect as yet in execution. Macbeth, in the first instance, a brave and loyal soldier of honorable instincts but morally weak, is transformed into a reckless, savage, sanguinary traitor and madman, by the promptings of guilty ambition and preternatural imaginings. Moreover, he never quite succeeds in ridding himself from the throes of conscience. He is both human and inhuman. The problem for the actor is to give full expression to the insensate fury of the diabolic impulse and the occasional hesitancy and dejection due to remorse. Of the great American Macbeths, E. L. Davenport was the most terrific in desperation, and Edwin Booth the most eloquent in moments of abject misery. Mr. Hampden does not show the power of the one or the artistic cunning of the other, but evidently comprehends and, by many felicitous touches, denotes both the phases of the character. He was at his best in the earlier scenes. His delivery of the soliloquy "If 'twere done," etc., was admirable in every way, and in many isolated passages he was exceedingly happy, but there was a certain lack of smoothness in his transitional moods, and of spontaneity, not of absolute power, in his passionate outbursts. But his performance, as a whole, deserves hearty praise—the more particularly, because he was deprived of the support and inspiration which ought to be provided by the Lady Macbeth, who, on this occasion, had a most unfortunate representative in Madame Gilda Varesi. With this exception the representation was generally efficient, but individual mention is unnecessary save in the case of Albert Bruning, whose Macduff was as fine a performance as any one could wish to see.

J. R. T.

The Feast of Tabernacles

THE performances at the Neighborhood Playhouse have a quality that is difficult to define, a quality which rests on the naïve pleasure in performing which every one of the young players so charmingly reveals. They are all of the neighborhood—girls and boys at school or at work who have an appreciation and an aptitude for the arts and to whom the Playhouse offers fuller development of latent talent. The orchestra is composed of neighborhood musicians; the scenery, the costumes, and the properties are all from neighborhood hands, and express the same element of joy that is so apparent in the complete performance. The Pageant of the Feast of Tabernacles, recently given, is based on ancient Jewish festival observances and is a mingling of choral singing, dance, flowing color, and gesture.

The pageant begins with an initial song of thanksgiving, and the assembling of youths and maidens under a clear sky, to dance and feast around the booth, in which the harvesters dwell during the ingathering. This spontaneous celebration changes to a more formal devotion, expressed in ritual and a truly magnificent procession led by the high priest, which reaches its climax in a mingling of antiphonal speech, song, and dance quite overwhelming in its concentrated power. The last scene is a dedication of Youth to Service, youth beholding the Vision of Life as a bridge over which dreams take form and pass—an exquisite series of silhouettes against a pallid sky. The beauty and joy of the ancient celebration contrasted strikingly with clanging, hooting New York, celebrating in its useless, ugly way the coming of peace.

W.

THE DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND OF THE WAR—1870-1914
By CHARLES SEYMOUR, Ph.D.
Professor of History, Yale College.

Mr. Seymour was a member of "The Inquiry" established by the Government to gather material for use at the Peace Conference, serving as the specialist on Austria-Hungary; and he is accompanying President Wilson and the American delegation to France where he will act as expert adviser on political matters. His book, which is now in its tenth edition, is not only delightful as general reading, but is indispensable to an understanding of the basis of a just peace. *Cloth,* $2.00

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Finance

A Peace Finance Corporation

THE proposal to continue the corporate existence of the War Finance Corporation as an aid in financing the readjustment of business to a peace basis suggests the complex problems involved in the restoration of normal conditions. As an emergency expedient, the War Finance Corporation has never exerted the influence in the money market that those in favor of the law supposed it would exercise. The corporation has loaned $71,385,000 since it was formed several months ago. Altogether $68,217,000 was advanced directly to various war industries, enabling many companies to do efficient work on war contracts.

In comparison with its enormous resources, however, the aggregate loans made by this unique institution are not at all impressive. Having a capital of $500,000,000 and with authority to sell $3,000,000,000 of its securities to aid struggling enterprises, the corporation cannot be said to have extended itself in behalf of borrowers in need. It is clear that the directors pursued a conservative course and avoided any lending operations which could be construed as helpful to speculation. This was a wise policy and provided the best answer to those critics of this relief expedient who objected so strenuously to the formation of the great company on the ground that it might be an instrument of dangerous inflation.

There is a good deal to be said in favor of continuing the corporation during the reconstruction period. It is clear that a large amount of new financing will be required during the transition period, when the country is laboring strenuously to put business upon a peace footing once more. Such a high expert as Mr. Warburg favors the idea in the belief that such a large relief fund as the corporation has at its disposal could be utilized to excellent advantage in financing various properties that are now engaged in the work of reëquipping themselves with the paraphernalia required for peace production. Should the corporation make its peace loans as conservatively as it made its war loans, there could be no criticism of its activities in the transition era upon which the nation has entered.

Should Congress decide to give this institution a new lease of life, it will be interesting to watch its activities in the field of peace finance. That the corporation has been careful to confine its investments to short-term loans is evident from the fact that $37,172,000 of its loans have been repaid by the borrowers. The advances made by the corporation have consisted largely of temporary loans made for the purpose of helping the borrowers over the hard places of the war period. The directors were careful to confine their advances to such borrowers as were engaged in vital work. Of the 816 applications for loans aggregating $353,607,000 scarcely one-fifth were granted. Instead of being a source of easy supply, therefore, the corporation has confined its activities to such loans as were of a distinctly emergency character.

There are many reasons why Congress may consider it wise to continue the corporate existence of this unique institution. If it should decide otherwise on the ground that it would be improper to use war powers to control peace conditions, the corporation will end its corporate existence six months after peace has been declared. The law provides, however, that additional time may be granted the directors for liquidating the corporation, if they find it necessary. The situation is interesting, and although it is difficult to forecast Congressional action, the chances seem to favor the transformation of the War Finance Corporation into something like a Peace Finance Corporation. Should this extension of time be granted, the probablility is that Congress would limit the activities of the corporation as well as its corporate existence. The institution has been well managed and of real service in financing important corporations over a difficult period.

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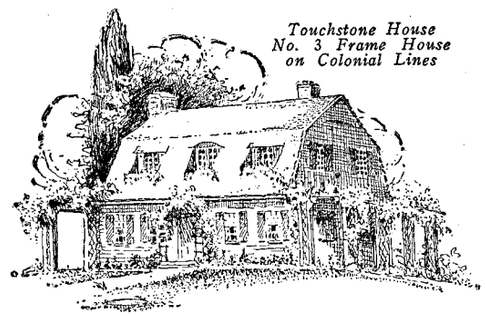

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International Relations Section

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The Balkans at the Peace Conference

By STEPHEN P. DUGGAN

AT the last two great Peace Congresses held in the nineteenth century, the Congress of Paris in 1856 and that of Berlin in 1878, the Balkan peoples were treated as mere pawns in the diplomatic game. Their wishes and their interests received scanty consideration and were unhesitatingly sacrificed to the political, economic, or strategic needs of the Great Powers or to the principle of the Balance of Power. The veriest tyro in Balkan history is aware that the dispositions made at those congresses, especially at the Congress of Berlin, were likely and sometimes even deliberately intended to sow discord among the small Balkan states and to compel each of them to look for support to one or other of the Great Powers. It is not too much to say that the seeds of the present war were sown at Berlin in 1878. What is there in the present outlook to justify the belief that at the coming peace conference a sincere attempt will be made to solve the Balkan problem upon a just and reasonable basis?

In the first place, the two most sinister influences in the past history of the Balkans, namely, the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian empires, will have disappeared. Only the close student of Balkan history can realize what it will mean to the future of the Balkan peoples to be relieved of the evil interference of those two states in their internal affairs. Of the two, the Austro-Hungarian influence was the worse, based, as it always had been, upon the policy of keeping the Balkan states weak, undeveloped, and in hatred of one another. But although Russian intervention generally meant emancipation from Turkish tyranny, it was always undertaken primarily in the interests of Russian imperialism. The Bulgars soon learned after 1878 that the Russians had no intention of allowing their "little brothers" to manage their own affairs. However, the Russian revolution has destroyed Russian imperialism and with it the bogey of Panslavism. With the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire vanishes the grandiose scheme of Teuton hegemony in the Balkans. The representatives at the peace conference of Russia and of whatever remains of Austria-Hungary will have enough to do to look after their own immediate affairs without concerning themselves about the Balkans; and the representatives of the Balkan peoples, for the first time in their history, can propose measures for their own welfare without knowing beforehand that they will be checkmated by the intrigues of the two autocracies that have now fallen.

Nevertheless, the slogan of the first Balkan war, "The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples," will not be fully realized by the disappearance of the competition between Russia and Austria-Hungary for the hegemony of the peninsula. It is true that in recent years Great Britain has abandoned the evil course under which "the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire," in opposition to the welfare of the Balkan peoples, was one of the chief principles of her foreign policy. By the occupation of Egypt and the agreement with Russia in 1907, she made sure of the security of the Suez Canal route to India, and her interest in maintaining the Turk at Constantinople disappeared. In the last decade, therefore, Britain's voice has usually been raised in favor of the Balkan peoples and of their right to determine their own affairs. So long as the immense investments which France had made in Turkey were secured, the same attitude would also have been the one natural for France, save for the paralyzing influence of the Russian alliance. As that alliance, however, has been abrogated during the war, all selfish reason for an unfriendly attitude on the part of France towards the just aspirations of the Balkan peoples at the peace conference has disappeared.

There remains Italy. The interference of Italy in the affairs of the Balkans during the past thirty years has always been as a counterpoise to Austria-Hungary, her apparent ally but her real enemy. It would seem logical that, with the disappearance of the latter from the Balkans, Italian interference should likewise disappear. The friends of the Balkan peoples were shocked at the extent of the Italian claims in the peninsula when the secret treaties concluded among the Allies in 1915 were published by the Bolsheviki. It must be remembered, however, that when Italy signed those treaties, in 1915, the Central Powers were at the height of their military successes, and it seemed likely that Italy was to have even a stronger Austria-Hungary on the opposite shore of the Adriatic. The meaning of that danger to Italy is obvious to anyone who knows the physiography of the region. The eastern shore of the Italian peninsula is low, flat, and open to attack. It has no seaports which can be used as naval bases even for purposes of defense. The opposite shore of Dalmatia, on the other hand, is the reverse of this in every respect. It is high, provided with many fine harbors which can easily be defended, and has numerous ports excellently located for naval bases, some of which were used as such by Austria-Hungary. It was this menace as much as anything else that kept Italy in the Triple Alliance. If Dalmatia were ever taken from Austria-Hungary, it was essential to Italy that no other powerful state should possess it; otherwise there would be but an exchange of dangers. It may be objected that the only other state to which it could possibly revert was little Serbia. But it must be remembered that, in 1915, Serbia was regarded by friends and foes alike as merely a *point d' appui* of Russia. Hence the nature of Italy's claims to the Dalmatian coast in the secret treaties of 1915. Since the Russian revolution, Italy has twice indicated its willingness to come to terms with the Jugoslavs on the question of the Dalmatian coast, namely, after the adoption of the Declaration of Corfu, in July, 1917, by the Jugoslavs, and at the Congress of the Oppressed Nationalities of Austria-Hungary held in Rome a little later. Unfortunately, since the latter date dissension has apparently developed among the Jugoslavs. It may have been this

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dissension that prompted Italy to occupy so much of the Dalmatian coast upon the collapse of Austria-Hungary; but the occupation is to be regretted because it has aroused all the old suspicions of the Jugoslavs, who had hoped for a joint Allied occupation until the status of Dalmatia was settled at the peace conference.

Italy will still figure, however, as a non-Balkan state in the affairs of Albania, but she will probably appear as the mandatory of Europe. Nothing was more ludicrous than the erection by the Powers during the Balkan wars of semi-barbarous Albania, inhabited by mutually hostile tribes, into an independent state. Such a state was an anomaly from the beginning, and the scheme was foredoomed to failure. If the principle of nationality is not to be violated and the entire region is not to be divided between the Serbs and the Greeks, Albania should be kept in tutelage until it is ready for independent national life. The control must either be internationalized or placed in the hands of a single state. The Balkan states undoubtedly hope for an inter-Balkan control but failing that they prefer internationalization, for they object strenuously to the assumption of a favored position by any one of the Great Powers in connection with Albania. But to Italy internationalization means the introduction of French, English, or German interests into the Adriatic, and to this Italy is emphatically opposed. Moreover, Italy will claim that international control has worked well only when it has not had to do with territory, as in the case of the Danube Commission or the Commission for the Ottoman Debt. American experience in administering Samoa in conjunction with Great Britain and Germany is but one illustration of the difficulty of international administration of territory. There is no evidence of a widespread belief in Italy as yet in the efficacy of a league of nations to assure national security. Italy will demand, and without doubt will secure, at the peace conference, Avlona, for the same reasons that have been mentioned in discussing Dalmatia. With the fortress of Pola at the head of the Adriatic sea and Avlona at its entrance in her possession, the Adriatic becomes an Italian lake for all naval purposes, and Italy need acquire no additional harbors for defensive purposes. If Italy is constituted the mandatory of the Powers or of the league of nations in Albania, it should be made plain that such action is taken solely in the interests of the people of Albania, and not to enable Italy to engage in the economic and political exploitation of the Balkans beyond Albania. In the latter opportunity lies great peril.

A second reason for believing that a sincere attempt will be made to solve the Balkan problems upon a just and reasonable basis is the general acceptance by all the Allies of the principle of self-determination, which is really another name for the principle of nationality. The extinction of the Hapsburg monarchy will permit the application of the principle to the Balkans, and from the Hapsburg dominions two of the Balkan states will be enabled largely to attain national unity. Rumanians are not only in a majority in Transylvania, but in the territory to the west of Transylvania formed by a line running from Semendria, on the Danube, through Temesvar and Grosswardein to Szatmar, there are fewer islets of Germans and Magyars than in Transylvania. The application of self-determination in Bessarabia has already resulted in the union of that province with Rumania, to which most of it belonged before it was taken away by Russia in 1878. Since the Russian revolutionists championed self-determination as one of the chief planks of their platform, it would seem that there can be little opposition to the union of Bessarabia and Rumania, save that the precise extent of territory to be taken over must, in this as in all such cases, be determined by impartial international commissions. Again, no objection has been raised to the incorporation of the southern part of the Bukovina with Rumania, since the inhabitants are wholly Rumanian. Were these territories to be united to Rumania, a state of about 14,000,000 people would be formed which would be one of the largest of the secondary states of Europe.

Self-determination in the former Hapsburg dominions may also result in national unity for the South Slavs. In the Declaration of Corfu, July, 1917, and at the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities of the Hapsburg Monarchy at Rome, the representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who make up the South Slav race, declared their determination to form a united state under the crown of Serbia. Unhappily, however, the Jugoslavs are not by any means agreed at all points. The Montenegrin dynasty is, naturally, opposed to its own extinction, and demands the creation of a federal rather than a unified state. One of the Croatian parties maintains a similar attitude and a considerable republican movement exists among the Slovenes. However, all parties profess themselves to be strong adherents of Jugoslav unity whatever the form of government may be. Nothing would weld them together so quickly and so strongly as an attempt upon the part of Italy to realize imperialist aims on the Adriatic littoral. No reasonable Jugoslav should object to the incorporation with Italy of Gorizia, Trieste, and the western half of Istria. With those exceptions, however, a plébiscite would probably result in the union of all the territory south of the Drave river that formerly was part of Austria-Hungary, with Serbia and Montenegro, into a national, independent Jugoslav state. If this union should be realized, there will come into existence another secondary state of some 13,000,000 inhabitants, provided with excellent natural resources with which to develop a strong national life.

In the case of the Greeks, the application of self-determination will result in accessions to the national territory in Asia Minor rather than in Europe, and the present article treats only of the Balkan peninsula. Northern Epirus, however, inhabited by Hellenized Albanians who desire incorporation with Greece, was merged in independent Albania by the Powers in 1913 upon the demand of Italy for strategic reasons, namely, in order that Greece might not occupy both shores of the Straits of Corfu, and thereby allow Greece, either by itself or by other Powers acting through its agency, to use the Straits as a naval base for operations against Italy. Such use, it was claimed, would rob Avlona of its value and threaten Italian control of the Adriatic. The people of the Dodecanesos—the twelve islands of the Ægean taken from Turkey by Italy in the Tripolitan war—are wholly Greek in race, tongue, and sentiment, and clamor for union with their motherland. It would be absurd for the Italians to appeal to the principle of nationality in the case of the Trentino and Trieste and refuse such an appeal in the case of the Dodecanesos. The possibilities of Italo-Hellenic as well as of Italo-Serbian friction in the Balkans are evident, and it is sincerely to be hoped that Italy may be represented at the peace conference by men of moderate views. Greece was so successful in the Balkan wars in acquiring the territory just beyond her borders inhabited by

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her nationals that, if she secures upper Epirus at the peace conference, she can reasonably be expected, from the standpoint of her status in the Balkans, to become a contented Balkan state.

The difficult problem is Bulgaria. Bulgaria is a defeated state which must accept such terms as may be offered. Moreover, Bulgaria was guilty of downright treachery in beginning the war and of outrageous brutality in conducting it —things which nobody is likely to condone. Whatever may have been its just claims in Macedonia, Bulgaria can now hope for no extension of territory there; it would be asking too much of human nature. Nevertheless, one aspect of the Balkan problem should not be lost to view. In addition to the illegitimate desire to be the Prussia of the Balkans, Bulgaria had a more legitimate reason for trying to secure the maximum of disputed territory. The Bulgarians are small in numbers. Were they to receive all the territory which they claim, they would number less than 6,000,000 people. They have always maintained that whereas Serbia, Rumania, and Greece might reasonably look forward to large extension of territory in *terra irredenta*, the Bulgarians needed to have all their nationals within their own state if the balance of power in the Balkans was to be maintained. It was professedly for that reason that Rumania took from Bulgaria the Silistria district at the close of the second Balkan war. However disputed the nationality of the inhabitants of Macedonia may be, there is no doubt about the nationality of the people of the Silistria region. Were self-determination to be applied, they would undoubtedly vote for a return to Bulgaria. As Rumania will in all probability have become much enlarged by the application of the same principle, it would be the height of unwisdom to think of retaining within her boundaries a Bulgarian population which would always be hostile and irreconcilable.

The bitterness of Bulgaria may also be relieved in another quite justifiable way. Were self-determination to be applied to the part of Thrace that belongs to Turkey, it would remain Turkish, for the majority of the inhabitants are Turks. But one of the conditions of peace which Allied statesmen have emphasized during the war is that the Turk must get out of Europe. Because of the difficulty of solving the problem of Constantinople, the city may be allowed to remain in nominal Turkish control, while the Straits are neutralized and their fortifications dismantled. But there is no place in Thrace for the Turk. On the other hand, this violation of the principle of self-determination would not have the evil consequences in this case that it would have in the others that have been mentioned. It has been a characteristic of the Turk throughout history that he is unwilling to live under alien domination. The recession of Turkish sovereignty from the Danube since 1815 has always been accompanied by an emigration of Turks from the territory ceded to the Christian states. More than 250,000 Turks migrated from the territory given up in the Balkan wars, some settling in Thrace, some in Constantinople, and some crossing to Asia. Undoubtedly, a similar movement would take place were the Bulgarian boundary placed at the Enos-Midia line fixed by the Treaty of London at the close of the first Balkan war. Were Bulgaria to recover Thrace and the Silistria district which it lost in the second Balkan war, it too might possibly become a contented Balkan state.

The elimination of *terra irredenta* and the attainment of national unity by the Balkan peoples make way for the final step in Balkan political development—federation. The war will probably give birth to a number of small states, and in some instances at least self-interest will dictate federation. The Scandinavian states formed a loose and informal federation during the war which may well become permanent after the war. Students of Balkan history know that the Balkan League which was formed during the first Balkan war was not broken up primarily as a result of antagonisms among the Balkan states, but because of Austro-Hungarian intrigues. There are so many interests, political and economic, which the Balkan states have in common that it would be national folly for any one state to oppose federation.

Political Parties in France

BY JOSEPH REINACH

IT was M. Poincaré who, in his message on the first day of the war, enunciated the noble formula of "l'union sacrée." The phrase came from the heart of the nation. The President of the Republic was its voice.

It may be said with some pride that the "union sacrée" has been respected to the fullest extent possible. Men remain men even in the most extraordinary tragedies of history. It is proper that political opinions and social opinions should persist during the war, perhaps to be confirmed, perhaps to be modified. It would have been chimerical to hope that political parties would disappear; nevertheless, it is apparent that they have undergone a change, and that new parties are in process of formation which will not fit into the old revamped frame.

It should be observed in the first place that what was formerly one of the chief firebrands of discord cannot flare out again with the same violence as previously. I speak of the question of education. In America there has often been astonishment at the great French quarrel between the state schools, from which religious instruction has been banished by law and replaced by civic and moral instruction, and the free schools, all of which are religious schools, and, with few exceptions, Catholic, receiving their inspiration from the Holy See—a fact which has led to their being regarded as Roman by their opponents, for instance by M. Clemenceau.

Catholics were wont to say that from schools without God could come only bad citizens and bad patriots. Free-thinkers likewise declared that from Roman schools could come only bad patriots and bad citizens. Liberals who held neither of these extreme opinions were equally abused by the Guelfs and the Ghibellines—*pélaudés*, as Montaigne says. That alone should have been enough to show that the liberals were right. The war will have afforded incomparable proof of how right they were. As a matter of fact, the men who had been brought up in Catholic schools and those who had received state instruction showed themselves, with so few exceptions that it is not worth while to allude to them, equally good patriots and citizens. In the trenches and in battle were to be seen Catholics and Jews, Protestants and free-thinkers, priests and rabbis, pastors and Free Masons; and not only did they all alike do their duty, but they also learned to love and esteem one another. M. Barrès, in his book on "The Spiritual Families of France," tells the fine story of a Catholic chaplain who was killed just as he was about to carry religious aid to a wounded man, and of a Jewish chaplain who at once took the crucifix and carried it

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to the fallen soldier who was calling for it. I can therefor hope that this former polemic will not be rekindled, and that those who might try to revive it would be greeted with derision by all the old *poilus*.

That is one great simplification; here is another. We may regard it as settled that there are no longer monarchist parties in France. That does not mean that there is not a single royalist or a single Bonapartist. The *Action Française* is a royalist newspaper, and many of its readers are royalists. There are likewise men who remain faithful to the imperialist tradition. Nevertheless, neither of these constitutes more than a tiny minority which at most might succeed in electing half a dozen deputies. The Republic was unopposed before the war. Victory has given to it so magnificent a consecration that today France and Republic must be considered as synonymous terms. It is the Republic which made the army of Joffre, of Foch, of Pétain, of the *poilu*. It is the Republic which created the splendid state of mind of the country behind the lines which refused to be shaken by terrible disasters and held obstinately to its faith in the victory of the right. And before that it was the Republic which reconstituted, in Tunis, Morocco, East Africa, and Indo-China, the vast colonial domain which the monarchy of Louis XV had lost. It is the Republic which is now returning to France Alsace-Lorraine, lost by the second Empire.

At the same time, a great *rapprôchment* has been brought about between social classes and between capital and labor. The workingmen, the great majority of whom are Socialists, have given proof of irreproachable patriotism, whether in the perilous life of the trenches or in the hard labor of the munition factories. They have seen with their own eyes the rich, the bourgeois, the nobility, university men, the intellectuals, fighting in the front ranks and falling by thousands and thousands. Here, too, reciprocal esteem has taken the place of the anger, the hates, and the jealousies which have sometimes seemed pregnant with civil and social wars.

Capital, then, will continue to concern itself more and more with the bettering of the wages, the health, and the comfort of the working classes. Labor, on its side, no longer regards capital as an enemy. The terrible lesson of the ruin and disaster wrought by Bolshevism has not been lost. Anarchy, accompanied by such humiliations, has made men think. The Bolsheviki have been to our French working men what the drunken Helots were to the young Spartans. Finally, the lamentable bankruptcy of German Social-Democracy, which followed the Kaiser in all his crimes against right and humanity, and which waited until defeat had come to disengage itself from imperialism and Prussian militarism, has dealt a fatal blow to Marxian Socialism. Marxism no longer has adherents beyond a small number of doctrinaires who remain faithful to the politics of Jaurès and group themselves about a grandson of Karl Marx. It is likely that French Socialism has freed itself from Marxism, and will go back to its French sources of 1848.

As to the party which called itself Radical-Socialist—a party midway between the old Republican party of Gambetta, Jules Ferry, and Waldeck-Rousseau, and the Socialist party whose prophet was Karl Marx—it has been mortally wounded by the fall of its two principal leaders, M. Malvy and M. Caillaux. It was M. Caillaux who, obliged to relinquish power after the assassination of Gaston Calmette by his wife, forced the appointment of M. Malvy as Minister of the Interior. Presiding in that capacity over the elections of 1914, M. Malvy displayed an almost unprecedented brutality and corruption in favor of the men of his own party. It would be grossly unjust to hold the Radical-Socialists responsible jointly with M. Malvy and M. Caillaux for the acts which brought about the condemnation of the former by the High Court of Justice. Nevertheless, M. Caillaux and M. Malvy were the leaders, and the party supported them until the end was near. If M. Caillaux has been abandoned by almost all of his old friends, M. Malvy, whose case was in any event different, still has his partisans. France is a direct and simple country, and the disaster which befell two such conspicuous leaders is a terrible blow to the prestige of the Radical-Socialist party.

For all these reasons, which are, however, of different degrees of importance, the field of future politics is largely cleared. It is inevitable that we shall again see a struggle of parties—that, indeed, is a condition of existence for free democracies—but there are no longer the same parties. The parties of conservatism and the parties of progress will alike be greatly modified. The principal task of France, after her cruel trials, with a vast territory ravaged by the Huns and a loss of more than a million of her best sons on the field of battle, is to reconstitute in the future peace her vital forces, her industry, her commerce, and her agriculture. This immense task will be the more difficult because, in spite of all the indemnities that will be exacted from Germany, taxation will continue to be very heavy, and the heavier because the labor forces of France have been seriously impaired. To accomplish this task successfully, and as rapidly as possible, there is needed, in my opinion, a prolonged truce of party politics, and a new *union sacrée* for peace as much as war. Obviously, this will be difficult to obtain, but the difficulty, however great, is smaller than the necessity.

To this end we shall have to modify our parliamentary régime, which for years has been injured if not corrupted by party rivalries, by the abuse of fruitless discussion, by a continuous stream of eloquence—words, words, words—by battles for portfolios, and by the electoral law, which even Gambetta in his time anathematized, which makes a deputy no longer a representative of the people but the hired agent of electors in pursuit of places and favors. But to bring about this purification of the parliamentary régime it will not be enough, as it might have been earlier, merely to change the electoral law, to free the deputies from miserable local coteries by having them elected in large districts, to give proportional representation to minorities, nor even, in my opinion, to give the suffrage to women. It will be necessary to revise the Constitution. In 1871 we crossed the Channel and endeavored to adapt the English Constitution to democracy, with a president instead of a king. In 1919, we must cross the Atlantic and recover for our own use the American Constitution, the product of eighteenth century France, and, in the main, of Montesquieu. The great merit of the American Constitution is that it has made real the separation of powers, on the one hand by a strong executive power drawing its strength from the fact that it is elected by the nation; and on the other hand by the Supreme Court, which protects the fundamental principles of liberty and equality against all attacks, even on the part of the legislature. The American army crossed the ocean to help save, along with the soil of France, the liberty of nations and the right. French politics must cross the ocean to make the Republic that which it ought to be—the concern of the whole people.

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Correspondence

The British General Election

London, November 16

FIRST we were told, by that section of the press through which the intentions of the Government are usually foreshadowed, that there was to be a general election early in November. Then November 30 was announced as having been practically fixed for the date. Presently it was postponed to December 7. Afterward, December 11 was mentioned on the best authority. Now we know finally that the pollings will be held on December 14. The one thing certain all the time has been that Lloyd George wanted an election very badly, and wanted it soon. Just as a Vice-President who has been called to the White House by the death of its occupant is not quite happy until his authority has been confirmed at a Presidential election, so a Prime Minister who came into power in such exceptional circumstances as those of December, 1916, would naturally feel more comfortable if he could say that the country had pronounced definitely in his favor. It is true that Lloyd George has spoken of himself as being where he is through the call of the nation, but he must know as well as any one that the voice of Lord Northcliffe or Lord Beaverbrook is not the authentic voice of England.

Mr. Lloyd George is admittedly a master of political tactics, but has he, this time, left his *coup* too late? His original idea was to secure an election during the war, in which case he would have had good reason to expect that the voters, forgetting their grievances and differences, would rally to strengthen his hands for prosecuting it to a finish. The issue would have been the "knock-out blow" policy *versus* the Lansdowne plan of settlement by negotiation. It would have been complicated by no questions of reconstruction policy. But things have moved more rapidly than Mr. Lloyd George anticipated. "Events have marched," he said at the Guildhall banquet, "on the wings of a hurricane." The appeal to the country will now be made under different conditions and with other concerns dominating the popular mind.

The Prime Minister is now asking that the combination into which the parties entered for purposes of war shall be continued for purposes of peace. If the nation could unite to beat Germany, is it not as desirable that it should unite to rebuild England and to take its part in the rebuilding of Europe? He appeals ostensibly for unity. Well and good. But what he is really demanding is unanimity, and that is a different matter. It is right that both associations and individuals should sink selfish interests and co-operate for the common welfare, but it is impossible that everyone should think alike. And on domestic problems there is bound to be as much division of opinion in 1918 as in 1914. On such matters the war has produced no conversions. The conservative mind is still conservative, and the progressive is still progressive. A coalition was possible in 1916 because, on the one issue of the day, practically everybody was agreed. As soon as that subject is disposed of, diversities must inevitably revive. Moreover, the old arguments against government by a coalition have lost none of their force. They may have been temporarily dismissed from consideration because of the pressure of the war, but, now that peace has come, they have regained their full validity, and the most accomplished political stategist cannot afford to ignore them.

Further, the country is being asked to support not merely a coalition but a particular coalition, or, rather, a political combination which does not actually deserve the name of a coalition at all. The coalition Government of May, 1915, contained an almost equal number of Liberals and Conservatives, as well as a Labor member. The coalition Government now backing Mr. Lloyd George—when one takes into account not only numbers, but the importance of the respective offices—is overwhelmingly Conservative. The coalition party which the Prime Minister is now gathering around him will be no national party in any case. It includes substantially the whole of the Conservative party, together with that party's electoral machine. Though many Liberals have joined it—some of them men of high distinction—the official Liberal party stands aloof. And labor has not only decided to stay outside but has deliberately taken up an attitude of opposition. The labor men who entered the Government during the war will no longer be representatives of labor if they remain in it after Wednesday next.

The election campaign is only just opening, and the Government's appeal to the country has not yet been issued. So far, matters have not progressed further than a series of deals between the Prime Minister and various groups of actual and prospective adherents. When the national appeal is issued, it will doubtless ask for support for the present Government on the ground that the Government has won the war. The reply to this will be twofold. In the first place, it will be pointed out that, even if we ignore the part played by the Allies in bringing about this result, a considerable share of the credit must be given to a person named Haig, and to various others who have never sat around a Cabinet table. There may, indeed, be some critics unkind enough to suggest that the war has been won not because of British statesmanship but in spite of it. In the second place, it will be questioned whether, assuming that the present Government deserves to be rewarded, their reward should take the form of a continuance in office for an indefinite period. Let them distribute among themselves, it will be said, as many knighthoods and baronetcies and peerages as they care for, but the control of domestic legislation of the most critical kind for, possibly, five years is far too serious a thing to be bestowed as a prize for success in a military enterprise. It does not by any means follow that a Government that was efficient in the destructive work of war will be the most competent to solve the problems of reconstruction. In a small way, the capacity of the present Government in this respect has already been tested, with a startling result. The Housing bill which it presented to Parliament a few days ago was laughed out of court within an hour or two. Before the day of the polling there will probably be a further opportunity of gauging the Government's competence in dealing with affairs of the type that must now be a predominant national concern. The demobilization not only of the soldiers but of the munition workers must begin soon. It has long been foreseen, and there has been ample time to make careful preparation for it. We shall soon find what the Government's plans on this subject amount to. A good many people who are not ordinarily pessimistic anticipate that the test will not enhance the credit of the men responsible for them.

It would be absurd to attempt any forecast of the results of the polling. At previous general elections, party whips and other experts have sometimes made predictions that have come true within half a dozen seats or so. To-day, even those politicians who are normally most skilful in feeling the pulse of the country confess themselves entirely in the dark. The women's vote alone is an utterly incalculable factor. Nobody pretends to have the least idea what will be the test questions on which the women electors will require to be satisfied before promising a candidate their support.

One prediction, however, may confidently be made. Whatever the results of the election, they will be profoundly unsatisfactory. If the coalition Government is endorsed by the country, it will at once be confronted by a difficulty to which there is a recent American parallel. Mr. Taft was commended to one section of American opinion in 1908 as the one means of averting another Roosevelt term, and to another section as the legatee of Mr. Roosevelt's policies. In like manner Mr. Lloyd George is now presented to the Conservatives as a safeguard against Bolshevism and to the Liberals as a safeguard against

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reaction. We know what happened to Mr. Taft when he essayed to fulfil his double rôle. A similar fate will await Mr. Lloyd George if he is returned to power.

If, on the other hand, the coalition is defeated, it will largely be because the opposition candidates will have capitalized the very widespread grievances felt by families and business firms against various measures taken by the present Government or its agents. Unjust discriminations between one business and another, harsh decisions of Military Service act tribunals, blunders in food and coal rationing, delay and unfairness in the payment of allowances to soldiers' families—such things as these will provide excellent campaign material for any opposition candidate who cares to utilize them. Now, an election determined by a general disgruntlement will afford a poor foundation on which to build up the new England.

And, whether the coalition wins or loses, complaints will be heard in every constituency that the election has not been a true reflex of public opinion. It will have been taken on an imperfectly compiled register, and only a small proportion of the soldiers will have been able to record their votes. Every defeated candidate will be certain that, if only there had been a full poll of the soldiers, he would have got in. This discontent will be especially acute and dangerous if it happens to be labor that is disappointed, or, as it will allege, defrauded. Hitherto, England has been preserved from turbulent outbreaks because of the general belief in parliamentary institutions. If the idea once gains currency that the franchise is no longer a means by which the democracy can carry its will into effect, but only a weapon by which the possessing classes may defeat the aspirations of the people, a tremendous impetus will be given to the type of revolutionary propaganda that is to-day sweeping everything before it in Europe. The demand for Soviets, hitherto checked by the wise guidance of the labor leaders and by the moderation of the English political temperament, may become irresistible. If it comes to be believed that necessary social and industrial changes cannot be secured by the orderly processes of reform embodied in parliamentary legislation, the democracy will turn to other methods. The essential thing is that there should be popular confidence both in the system of government and in the men who work it. If this faith breaks down, the outlook for the future will be dark indeed.

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

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The Pact of London

THE following agreement, dated at London, September 5, 1914, was signed by Earl Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; M. Paul Cambon, Ambassador of France to Great Britain, and Count Benckendorff, Ambassador of Russia to Great Britain.

The undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, hereby declare as follows:

The British, French, and Russian Governments mutually engage not to conclude peace separately during the present war.

The three Governments agree that, when the terms of peace come to be discussed, no one of the Allies will demand conditions of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other Allies.

The Jugoslav Declaration of Independence

THE declaration of independence of the Jugoslavs, the most important document in the struggle of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes for national unity, was signed at Agram (Zagreb) on September 24 by Dr. Ante Korošeć, a Roman Catholic priest, for the National Slovene Council; Dr. Gajo Bulat, for the National Council of Dalmatia; Dr. Ante Pavelić, for the Starcević party (Right) of Croatia; Stjepan Radić, for the Croatian Peasant party; Dr. George Krasojević, for the Radical Serb party; the Croatian deputies Budisavljević, Lorković, and Dr. Simrak, for independent groups; and Citizens Bukšeg, Korać, and Delić, for the Socialist party. The same declaration was accepted by representatives of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A brief summary of the claims set forth in the declaration was printed in the *New Europe* (London) of October 17. The text which follows, being the form in which the declaration was read by Dr. Korošeć before the Austrian Reichsrat on October 2, is translated from the Paris *Temps* of October 16.

We, the representatives of the Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian people, deem it our duty first of all to call attention to the known fact that the Austro-Hungarian Government is authorized to speak in the name only of the two peoples, who are the masters of Austria-Hungary, and that, consequently, the principles of peace which the Imperial and Royal Government may propose to the representatives of the belligerent states cannot in any way correspond to the needs of the oppressed peoples of the monarchy. For this reason the future organization of Europe, if carried out on the basis of those principles, far from affording a guarantee of the durable peace which is necessary, would on the contrary carry within itself the germ of new international conflicts, as is already shown by the declarations and desires of responsible statesmen, Austrians as well as Hungarians, who, at the very moment when they are presenting themselves before the whole world as apostles of a society of nations equal one to the other, are doing everything to render impossible the political and administrative progress of our nation.

It is our profound conviction that the basis of a durable peace can be established only on the new principles of an international law founded on truth and equity.

One of these truths is the fact that the Slovene, Croatian, and Serbian people are ethnically one nation, and that, according to a national principle, universally known, this unity should remain indivisible and free from any condition regarding either the permanence of its territory or its situation as a state. It

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is on this fact that we base our national rights and our claims, all of which accord with the principles, internationally recognized, of the democratic organization of civilized humanity.

Accordingly, relying upon the right, always alive in our people, which every nation has to live its own life, we declare, in the name of the Slovene, Croatian, and Serbian nation, that we accept absolutely and in its entirety the idea of universal peace based on the right of the people freely to dispose of themselves in the sense already internationally recognized, namely, that the people alone decide the question of their existence and whether they prefer to establish a state of their own or to effect with other peoples a union of states. This right of free disposition we claim also for the Slovene, Croatian, and Serbian nation, and we desire that the unrestricted application of this right may be guaranteed among the nations.

In accord with the democratic aspirations of both belligerent and neutral peoples, we demand also for our people a peace which shall bring us union, independence, and liberty, for only such a peace can assure to our people, who inhabit what has been, since the beginning of the history of these regions, the most dangerous point in Europe, their peaceable and independent development. A peace which subjected to the domination of an alien people even a portion of our geographically continuous national entity would carry in it the germ of future conflicts, and would force the Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian people to exert all their powers to obtain, for its complete national organism, the right to exist as an independent state.

The Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian people are conscious of their will and of their strength, and will use their power at every opportunity in order to become a member of the society of nations, and to work with their sister nations for the welfare and the progress of humanity.

In the name of the entire nation we accord to the minorities of other nationalities existing among our people, and who are territorially separated, all the rights necessary to their national development, economically and socially.

The Adriatic ports which, by reason of their population, their islands, or their hinterland, belong to the economic domain of our people, shall be open to all peoples, including those who live in our hinterlands, for such commercial needs as they shall eventually have; our nation will conclude international treaties to provide for and guarantee this freedom.

In the name of the entire nation, we further declare that we do not allow any one, not even at the peace conference, to discuss the destiny of our people without our full participation; and for this reason, and by virtue of the right of free disposition, we demand the participation of the Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian people, through its national representatives elected expressly for the purpose, in the future peace congress.

Czecho-Slovak Independence

A DECLARATION of independence of the Czecho-Slovak Provisional Government, dated at Paris, October 18, was printed in various newspapers the following day. The declaration which follows, adopted by the Czecho-Slovak National Council and the Union of Czech Deputies at Prague on September 29, was published in the London *Times* on the same day that the Paris declaration was adopted, with the statement that the document had been suppressed by the Austrian censor and had just reached London.

Our nation once more and with all possible emphasis lays stress on the fact that it firmly and unswervingly stands by the historical manifestations of its freely elected representatives, firmly convinced of the ultimate success of its highest ideals of full independence and liberty. Our silenced and oppressed nation has no other answer to all attempts at a change of the Constitution than a cool and categorical refusal, because we know that these attempts are nothing but products of an ever-increasing strain, helplessness and ruin.

We do not believe to-day in any more promises given and not kept. Past experience has taught us to judge them on their merits. The most far-reaching promises cannot blind us and turn us from our aims. The hard experience of our nation orders us imperatively to hold firm in matters where reality is stronger than all promises.

The Vienna Government is unable to give us anything we ask for. Our nation can never expect to get its liberty from those who at all times regarded our nation merely as a subject for ruthless exploitation; and who even in the last moment do not shrink from any means to humiliate, starve, and wipe out our nation, and by cruel oppression to hurt us in our most sacred feelings. Our nation has nothing in common with those who are responsible for the horrors of this war. Therefore there will not be a single person who would, contrary to the unanimous wish of the nation, deal with those who have not justice for the Czech nation at heart, and who have also no sympathy with the Polish and Jugoslav nations, but who are only striving for the salvation of their present privileged position of misrule and injustice.

The Czech nation will follow its anti-German policy, whatever may happen, being sure that its just cause will finally triumph, especially to-day, when it became a part of the great ideals of the Entente, whose victory will be the only good produced by this terrible war.

Danish-Icelandic Agreement

THE following text of the proposed Law of Confederation, to go into effect December 1, regulating the political relations of Denmark and Iceland, is translated from the Christiania *Stavanger Aftenblad.*

Denmark and Iceland are free and sovereign states united by a common king.

Danish citizens in Iceland are to enjoy equal rights and privileges with the citizens of Iceland, and vice-versa.

The citizens of each country are exempt from military service in the other country.

Access to fishing within the maritime jurisdiction of both countries is equally free to Danish and Icelandic citizens, regardless of residence.

Danish ships in Icelandic harbors have the same rights as Icelandic ships, and vice versa.

Denmark will act in Iceland's behalf in foreign affairs. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there will be a representative appointed in consultation with the Government of Iceland and familiar with Icelandic conditions. Attachés who are well informed on Icelandic affairs shall be appointed to the already existing consulates and legations. All agreements entered into by Denmark with foreign countries and already published shall, in so far as they concern Iceland, be in force for that country also. Agreements ratified by Denmark after the proposed Law of Confederation has gone into effect shall not be binding upon Iceland without the express consent of the Icelandic authorities concerned.

Until such time as Iceland shall decide to take charge of the inspection of fisheries in whole or in part, this duty will be performed by Denmark under the Danish flag. The monetary system shall continue to be the same for both parties as at present, so long as the Scandinavian monetary system exists. Should Iceland desire to establish her own coinage, the question of acknowledgement by Sweden and Norway of the coins and notes stamped in Iceland will have to be settled by negotiation with those countries.

Denmark's Supreme Court has jurisdiction in Icelandic cases until Iceland shall decide to institute a supreme tribunal of her own. Until then one member of the Supreme Court shall be an Icelander.

Matters of importance to both countries, such as coinage, trade, customs, navigation, mails, telegraphs and radio telegraphs, administration of justice, weights and measures, as well as financial arrangements, shall be regulated by agreements of the authorities of both countries.

The sum of 60,000 kroner contributed annually by Denmark to Iceland shall be discontinued, and instead Denmark shall establish two funds of 1,000,000 kroner each, one at the University of Copenhagen and one at the University of Reykjavik, for the promotion of intellectual intercourse between the two countries.

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There shall be established an advisory body of at least six members, one-half from Iceland and the other half from Denmark, to be appointed by the Alting and the Rigsdag respectively, to deal with any bills brought forward in the Parliament of one country which also touch the interests of the other.

If differences of opinion should arise concerning the provisions of this Law of Confederation which cannot be adjusted by the Governments, they shall be laid before a court of arbitration consisting of four members, two to be appointed by each country. This court of arbitration shall settle differences by a plurality of votes, and in case of a tie the matter shall be submitted to an arbitrator appointed alternately by the Swedish and the Norwegian Governments.

This Law of Confederation may be revised until the year 1940 upon the request of either the Rigsdag or the Alting. The agreement may be abrogated only by a two-thirds vote of each Parliament, which must afterwards be confirmed by a plébiscite.

Denmark will communicate to foreign powers its acknowledgement of Iceland as a sovereign power in accordance with the provisions of this Law of Confederation. At the same time Denmark will announce that Iceland declares itself to be perpetually neutral and has no naval flag of its own.

The Revolution in Wuerttemberg

THE following manifesto, dated November 10, was issued by the Provisional Government which was formed on that date at Stuttgart.

A mighty but happily bloodless revolution has been consummated. A republic is proclaimed, a new epoch of democracy and freedom is dawning. The old authorities are abdicating. The people assumes political authority. Its immediate representatives are the Workers' Council, formed from the free trade unions and the Social Democratic and Independent Socialist parties. General von Ebbinghaus, with his corps of officers, has placed himself at the disposal of the Workers' Council to carry out the requisite measures for the maintenance of public safety. The Provisional Government regards it as its first duty to prepare a Constituent Assembly on the basis of the electoral demands made known in our programme. The Government will issue a comprehensive amnesty. It summons the populace to maintain order and resume work. Resolute action is to be taken against unauthorized elements who lay claim to public offices. Measures have been taken to protect life and property. Soldiers are to obey their elected Soldiers' Council. We appeal to the population of the remaining communes of the country to follow the example given by the population of Stuttgart. We send a brotherly greeting to the workers and soldiers of all countries and appeal to them to work together with the German revolutionary people and assist the attainment of a speedy and lasting peace of justice.

China Among the Nations

THE following statement has been prepared by the Chinese Liberals' League, an informal organization of Chinese students in American universities.

Through the leadership of President Wilson, the most distinguished champion of democracy, this war has been waged more than any previous war on a moral and humanitarian basis. The phrases which are destined to echo for centuries to come struck a harmonious cord in the heart of mankind, and have aroused in the world a burning desire for international justice. Fair dealing will not be denied to the long-submerged peoples of Europe who are now rising to assert themselves. A new era has assuredly dawned, with justice as the controlling factor in international relations. Justice, as John Galsworthy puts it, is a machine which, once it is given a push, rolls on of itself. The necessary push having now been given, the machine ought to be rolling everywhere, but up to the present time it has given no evidence of ever being able to roll as far as to China.

While international readjustments are daily going on, China's case is nowhere presented. Still worse is the monitory note credited to the Allies charging her with inefficiency in her conduct of the war. Irrespective of the causes that are responsible for the rather indifferent attitude, all who wish well to mankind will agree that if the lofty ideals of President Wilson are to be accepted as the cardinal principles governing international relationships, exception can not justifiably be made in regard to China. She has a splendid national history. She is a member of the family of nations. She entertains none save peaceful aspirations. She represents an enormous section of mankind and embodies a definite and distinct civilization. That she has been shamefully wronged in the past none will deny; that she was not herself responsible every one will admit. Therefore, as a matter of abstract principle, her case should by all means be presented, and in regard to concrete facts her programme, as will shortly appear, cannot fail to be convincing.

Even on the score of international policy China should not be ignored. The policy of the Western Powers and of her immediate neighbor, pursued in *ante bellum* days, if persisted in hereafter, will surely render China a stumbling-block to international peace. It will make her again the centre of the same game of power to be played for high stakes. Where the so-called "spheres of influence" clash, the world will be set on fire again. If not the sense of righteousness, at least the dictates of wisdom require the inauguration of a new order in the Far East. The league of nations itself will secure only an unstable foundation if it permits China's claim to be pigeon-holed.

A comprehensive programme must adopt the following principles in regard to China:

1. Justice, not force, should hereafter be the governing principle in the settlement of international questions the world over, and no exception can be tolerated in the Far East.

2. China is an independent and sovereign nation and should be respected as such, not merely in diplomatic phraseology, but also in concrete cases.

3. Financial imperialism should forever be discredited. Continuation of such a policy would be just as impolitic as it is immoral.

4. No economic barriers should hereafter be imposed. They would fetter free development and sap the very blood of national vitality.

5. The principle of self-determination should be scrupulously observed. Any attempt to impose a will not of China's own deliberate choice can not be tolerated.

6. Each and all of the wrongs done to China since German occupation of Kiau-Chau should be righted. We need not discuss at any length the wrongs done to China previous to the Prussianization of Kiau-Chau. Suffice it to say that fair play should stop prefixing the names of ports with the word "Treaty," and a "square deal" should demand immunity from "spheres" and "influences." But the cases after 1897 are of sufficient significance to warrant specification. The following wrongs must be righted in these days of high resolution:

a. All the so-called "leased territories" should be returned to China. These include Kiau-Chau, Port Arthur, Talien-Wan, Kwang-Chou-Wan, and Wei-Hai-Wei, all of which were wrested from China in ways that were a shame to civilization.

b. Outer Mongolia, over which China's right has been reduced to a mere fiction of suzerainty as the result of Russian instigation in 1912, when China was at a critical moment during her revolution, should be restored to China's full sovereign control.

c. Tibet, Outer and Inner, is an integral part of China. No attempt at luring it away should be permitted.

d. Concessions to Japan as a result of her twenty-one demands of 1915, together with the privileges previously acquired by her in Manchuria, in so far as they impair China's sovereign rights, should be null and void.

e. Foreign garrisons stationed at various places in China should be immediately withdrawn. The very presence of these

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foreign troops is an insult to a free and independent nation.

f. Boxer indemnities exacted far beyond the actual injuries done to the foreign nations should be cancelled altogether. Justice demands that enormous sums still outstanding should be used to better advantage than mere subsidy to concession-seekers.

g. China as a sovereign nation has the right to fix her tariff rates. The present treaty limitations are incompatible with this principle and accordingly should be abolished.

h. All the railway, mining, and other concessions should be so amended as neither to violate China's sovereign rights nor to impair her free economic development.

i. Treaties heretofore entered into through force or duress, threat or intimidation, are incompatible with China's sovereign rights, and should be equitably revised.

The above programme suggests nothing revengeful nor anything unreasonably nationalistic. The numerous items indicate rather the extent to which China has been outraged than the degree of a momentary outburst of patriotic passion. We are not trouble makers. As citizens of China, we desire to right the wrongs of the past, and as human beings in this world we seek to help establish international justice so as to help on a better future. We appeal to the enlightened opinion of mankind. We appeal to the thoughful people of the United States. Of all the nations, the United States is to us the most friendly, having convinced us not only of her positive disinterestedness but also of her helpful coöperation. She formulated the "open door" policy, she returned the excess indemnity fund, and she recognized the republican Government of China in the critical days when others were seeking for concessions. With a friendship so deep-rooted, we need not doubt that we can help each other.

Is it necessary to add that to-day America is the standard-bearer of democracy? The most outspoken champion of the liberalizing tendencies of modern times, unsuspecting and unsuspected, the United States speaks with a weight that is well-nigh impossible for others to minimize. After the crushing of militarism in Europe, will she not labor for justice in the East as well as in the West? She can do it if she chooses.

The Civil War in China

THE following manifesto, published in the *North China Herald* (Shanghai) of August 24, is a defence of the independent military government which was set up at Canton under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, following the short-lived restoration of the Manchu emperor by Chang Hsun in the summer of 1917. The formation of the southern Government, which claims "that it alone represents the constitutional Government established by the treaty of Nanking after the revolution of 1911," was followed by civil war between the North and the South, which still continues. The letter of resignation of Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang was printed in the International Relations section of the *Nation* of October 5. Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who signs the manifesto as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was formerly Ambassador of China to the United States.

On this the formation of the reorganized Military Government of the Republic of China, the Administrative Directors think it fitting and proper that a statement of the cause of the present unfortunate civil war and the object of the Constitutionalist movement should be made to the foreign nations, Allies, and friends of the Chinese Republic, so that the issue may be clear to them and the responsibility for the war and the justice or otherwise of the opposing causes may be judged by the public opinion of the world.

The real cause of the war is the militarism of the northern military party with General Tuan Chi-jui at their head. The immediate cause was the illegal dissolution of Parliament. When Germany, contrary to the recognized principles of the law of nations, commenced unrestricted submarine warfare in February, 1917, and the Government of the United States of America invited the then neutral nations to take action, the Chinese Government, having then as its President Li Yuan-hung, as Prime Minister Tuan Chi-jui, and as Foreign Minister Wu Ting-fang, first addressed a protest to Germany and later broke off diplomatic relations with her. Parliament was consulted when the latter step was taken and the majority in both Houses in favor of it was preponderantly large, being about three to one. This is important as showing that at that time Parliament was at one with the Government as regards its foreign policy. By the time, however, the question of the declaration of war against Germany was referred to Parliament, the suspicion was widespread that the northern militarists were not envisaging the question on its own merits, that they were contemplating the use of the opportunity to consolidate and extend their own power and influence, and that the assistance, financial, military, and moral, which it was expected the Allies would accord to China when she entered the war would be turned for the purpose not of active pursuit of warfare against Germany, but of furthering their own selfish ends.

The Attack on Parliament

General Tuan was holding at this time a conference of the Militarists in Peking, and men like Nyi Tze-chung, who, before their arrival at the conference, had been most strong in their opposition to even the rupture of relations with Germany, were now the strongest advocates of war. So strong were their convictions that on the day of the debate in Parliament, with the complicity of Tuan, they sent a large mob of vagabonds and street ruffians to the House of Representatives to clamor for war, assault some of the members known to be adverse to it, and in fact besiege the House for several hours from early afternoon until late in the evening while the police looked on and did nothing. The President, perceiving that General Tuan no longer held the confidence of the country, and was no longer fit to hold the reins of government, particularly at a time when the Government was taking such a momentous step, dismissed him from the premiership.

General Tuan went out of office with such little grace that he sent the famous telegram to his friends and *protégés*, the Military and Civil Governors of the different provinces, informing them that he was no longer responsible for the peace and order of the country. The result of the broad hint was at once manifest. One after another, the addressees demanded Tuan's return to office, and, to enforce that demand, declared their respective provinces independent of the Peking Central Government, established a general staff office, seized the railways leading to Peking, and marched their troops towards the capital.

At this juncture a general, Chang Hsun, known for his continued loyalty to the Manchu Court, who was privy to the schemes of the Militarists but had so far taken no active part, became their spokesman and undertook to come to Peking and to mediate between the practically beleaguered President and the rebellious Military Governors on condition that Parliament, object of hate to military tyrants in all countries, be dissolved. The fact that the Provisional Constitution gave no power of dissolution to the President; that Parliament was then sitting not only as a legislative organ but also as a constituent assembly, having been endowed by the Provisional Constitution with the power to frame the permanent Constitution, and had almost completed its task; that, if Parliament as at present constituted had defects, it was patent to none more than the members themselves, and they were indeed on the point of redrafting the Parliamentary Organization and Eelection laws; all these arguments were of no avail. President Li, in a moment of weakness and short-sightedness, gave way under the pressure of the Militarists and signed the decree of dissolution, thinking thus to avoid bloodshed and ease the situation, but contrary to the advice of the acting Prime Minister, Dr. Wu Ting-fang, who refused to countersign the decree and resigned.

Subsequent events defied imagination. Chang Hsun arrived with several thousand troops in Peking and in one night restored the Manchu boy Emperor and made himself the first Minister. Because he had the privity of the Militarists to his *coup*, he fondly imagined he had their support as well. He was, however, immediately to become the victim of the duplicity. They repudiated the restoration and denounced him. Tuan, putting himself at the head of a few thousand troops in the neighborhood of Peking, commanded by one of his *protégés*, marched against Chang, defeated some of his troops in two skirmishes, forced Chang to seek refuge in a foreign Legation, and entered Peking as conqueror. He had himself reappointed Premier by President Li, but the appointment was invalid because it needed the confirmation of Parliament. President Li then vacated office, although he had not tendered any formal resignation. Vice-President Feng Kuo-chang thereupon succeeded as Acting President.

The Constitutional Faith

Ever since the illegal dissolution of Parliament more than thirteen months ago, the Constitutionalists have not ceased to demand the re-convocation of Parliament. They believe that no nation can lead a proper existence without the reign of law as opposed to that of force. They believe that the Constitution of the Republic, as the supreme law of the land, should be sacred and inviolable. They believe that even if Parliament, a new institution in this country, shows room for improvement, the changes should be made according to the due process of law and not be accomplished by an arbitrary dissolution dictated by generals supported by bayonets. If such acts be tolerated it would mean that in future any general with enough soldiers at his back could, rightly or wrongly, point

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to any clause of the laws of the land or any Government institution in the country as objectionable to him and order a change to suit his ideas, ideas which originate more often from self-interest than a conception of public weal. With these beliefs they have made repeated representations to Peking to re-convoke the dissolved Parliament in order thus to uphold the sanctity of law. So far from paying heed to those representations, the Peking Government has established an illegal single-chambered legislature composed entirely of members appointed by itself and has ordered it to remake laws for parliamentary organization and election. That accomplished, farcical elections are now being held of members of the new pocket Parliament which, nominally representing the whole country, in reality not only does not represent the Constitutionalist provinces, where of course no elections are held or are permitted by Peking to be held, but does not even represent the people of those provinces where elections are held, on account of the corruption, open and rampant, practiced at the so-called elections.

Finding argument and reason to be of no avail, the Constitutionalists have been compelled to the regrettable necessity of resorting to arms, since the Militarists appear not to understand any argument save that of force. At the same time, no pains have been spared time and again to make clear that the sole aim of the Constitutionalist movement is to uphold the law and Constitution, and the sole claim is the restoration of the dissolved Parliament. If the order for re-convocation be issued to-day, there will be peace to-morrow. Why need the delay in the performance of such a simple act of justice cause the country to be plunged a single hour more into the miseries of the most terrible of wars, civil war? On whom is the responsibility?

Despoiling the Country

So far from attempting to reach a pacific settlement with the Constitutionalists, the Militarists are making every exertion to crush them. Troops have been drawn from every part of the country that can be made to obey orders at the expense of the preservation of local good order. Funds which should be devoted to constructive purposes are diverted for war, and the remission of the Boxer Indemnity payments by the Allied Powers, though with best intentions, has but furnished the Peking Militarists with more silver bullets against their Constitutionalist brothers. Finding funds still insufficient, they have resorted to borrowing; selling and mortgaging the richest mines, the stable revenues, and the most profitable railways without the least scruple. They have revived a traffic forbidden even under the Manchu *régime* by municipal law and international agreement, the opium traffic, and, what is worse, the Peking Government itself is the trafficker, buying the poison from the opium merchants and selling it to fellow citizens, thus making a handsome profit out of the transaction. When one of their own number is suspected of sympathies with the Constitutionalist cause, he is invited by another general to his house and immediately, without even the semblance of a court-martial, is shot in the courtyard, and on the following day a Presidential decree is issued posthumously indicting him for his alleged crimes. Tuan's Militarist Government concludes important conventions with foreign Powers in which the nation is committed to grave undertakings of unknown extent without Parliamentary sanction; and, in spite of the universal demand throughout the country, refuses even to publish the contents and allay the misgivings of the people. It has entered the war against Germany, but has manifested no active participation in the war consonant with China's resources in men, power, and materials, while there is much evidence to show that the Allies have been exploited for the selfish interests of the Militarists. Meanwhile those provinces under the nominal authority of Peking are misgoverned by the military autocrats, floods and famine occur without proper relief or prevention, brigandage is rife, and even foreigners are held for ransom or murdered.

Prussianism in Disguise

It is against this type of militarism, even worse than Prussianism because it masquerades under the guise of Republicanism, that the Constitutionalists are fighting. Besides the adhesion of the most powerful portion of the navy, they are in complete control of five rich and populous provinces, Kuang-tung, Kuangsi, Yunnan, Kueichow, and Szechuan, which have declared their independence, while in others such as Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien, Shantung, Honan, Shensi, and Chekiang, there are Constitutionalist armies in the field who are in possession of large portions of territory, or there are local sympathizers who have already declared their adhesion to the good cause with cities and districts, or are ready to do so at the first opportunity. Parliament has been invited to assemble in Canton, that same Parliament the election and assembly of which in 1913 caused the foreign Powers to accord recognition to the Chinese Republic, and there is every prospect that the necessary quorum of a majority of the membership will be obtained within a short time.

Peace by Justice Only

Perceiving the necessity for the formation of an effective and united government of the Constitutionalist provinces and forces, Parliament, sitting in extraordinary session on May 18, 1918, at Canton, reconstituted Directors of the new Government. The purpose of the Military Government is not to bring about separation or secession, but to uphold the cause of constitutionalism and the principle of legalism. It is fighting to make China safe for democracy. It is fighting the same fight that the Allies are fighting in Europe, the fight against autocracy. The Constitutionalists are fully aware that the wish of the foreign Powers is the speedy restoration of peace—a wish which the Constitutionalists desire to see realized even more ardently than they, but it can be secured only by opening the eyes of General Tuan and his associates to the fact that force cannot secure it, and it will be facilitated by the recognition of the Constitutionalist Government by the foreign Powers, so that in this way the Powers can contribute to the realization of their wish. Confident of the justice of the cause, the undersigned, representing the Constitutionalist provinces and forces of China, state their case plain and unvarnished to the Governments of the foreign Powers and submit it to the tribunal of the world's public opinion. They appeal to the Powers for support of the righteous cause and the recognition of the Military Government.

An Appeal of the Esthonian Democracy

THE following memorandum of the Esthonian Socialist Labor party, dated September 18, was presented to the recent Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference at London.

The democratic Esthonian people look to the fraternal world democracies for support in their continual struggle against the German baronial landlords, who possess about sixty per cent. of the total area of Esthonia. For a long time Esthonia regarded the Russian people and democracy as their nearest co-operators and sympathisers in the movement. This hope, however, has repeatedly been dashed to the ground in Esthonian history, notably during the Esthonian rebellion of 1843. In recent history the Russian democracy has again shown that it is either unable or unwilling to support Esthonia. Again, the Russian extreme communist movement, supposed to be fighting for the complete victory of democracy, has twice sold Esthonian democracy to Germany, first by the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and, secondly, by the new supplementary agreement to the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

It is not, perhaps, necessary to mention here that the Russian sailors and soldiers located in Esthonia have regarded themselves as being in an enemy's country, and, without any prohibition whatsoever by the Russian Provisional Government, have resorted to all kinds of violence, so much so that the Esthonian National Council, in September, 1917, was compelled to make a protest to foreign Powers.

This is the present relationship existing between the Russian democracy and Esthonia, and, as a consequence, the Esthonian democracy has been compelled to make a break with Russia and endeavor by itself to settle its own fate.

These, then, are the reasons why the democratic Esthonian National Council—in which the Socialist element is in the majority—proclaimed on November 28, 1917, after the Bolshevik revolution, the independence of the Esthonian Republic; having also in view the internal anarchy in Russia and the disintegration of the Russian front, which made it obvious that help from Russia could no longer be expected to enable Esthonia to defend herself against her deadly enemy, Germany.

The German domination means not only the usual political and national oppression, but the abolition of necessary social reforms in Esthonia; especially agrarian reforms, which are sorely needed in order that there may be the opportunity of cultivating the land to its fullest extent for two-thirds of the land population, who under present conditions work on the extensive baronial estates under unheard of conditions for from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, and receive daily the miserable pittance of from one shilling to two shillings sixpence.

The deliverance of Esthonia from German domination is a task of the most urgent nature for the world's democracies, and the democracy of Esthonia hope that their desire to be free from German oppression will meet with sympathetic consideration by Allied labor, and will be regarded as a condition of its war aims, and that it will lend its support to what is perhaps the oldest struggle between the foreign oppressor and a democratic native people, whose plea is their right to work for the better future of mankind and labor.

We will not enlarge upon the fact that the freedom of Esthonia, with its island of Moon Sound, by reason of its very important geographical situation—especially at the present political moment—is the key to the Baltic, and that it is tremendously important for the world's freedom and lasting peace that Esthonia, having decided to be a free-transit country with free harbors (assuring special facilities to Russian trade and maintaining with Russia and the Allies close economic relations and friendship), will form a gateway for world commerce into eastern Europe, without German control; that only in this way, namely, the grant to the Esthonian

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people of the full right of self-determination, and readiness to support the idea of Esthonian neutrality and international guarantee by the great Powers or by a league of nations, is the chief object in the Russo-German struggle to be removed; or that, even if the idea of Esthonian neutrality is not realisable for international reasons, Esthonia, with its freed neighbours and other Baltic countries, will certainly be prepared to form a defensive league which may give it more safety and assured peace than as if it belonged to one of the Great Powers such as the Russian Empire.

It must be remarked that the Bolshevist Government has renounced the sovereignty of Esthonia and declared it to be independent.

We are therefore very anxious that united labor should realize that the only possible way to create a durable peace in the East is to support Esthonia's desire for freedom and independence, not only on the democratic principle of helping in the social struggle for democratic reforms, but also because the return of Esthonia to the so-called Russian Federation is not practicable for reasons both international and internal, although it is to be noted that the Esthonian people are not inimical to the Russians.

At your great conference of the allied democracies of labor the Esthonian democracy beg:

1. That the Inter-Allied Labor Conference will support the Esthonian democracy in its struggle against the oppression of the German barons, and will lend its sympathetic aid to the freeing of Esthonia from German domination.
2. That inter-Allied labor will recognize the full right of the Esthonian people to self-determination, and accept the principle that the Esthonian future ought to be settled at the peace conference.
3. That, therefore, the Inter-Allied Labor Conference agrees to and supports the independence of the democratic Esthonian Republic as a permanent neutral state under international guarantees or those of a league of nations.
4. That, in view of the foregoing, the Esthonian authorised representatives should be allowed to participate in the peace conference.

A Declaration of Dalmatian Teachers

THE following declaration of the teachers of Dalmatia, adopted at a conference held at Split on September 15, was published in the Agram newspaper, *Obzor*. It is here reprinted from a bulletin of the Serbian Press Bureau.

We teachers, who spread the light of learning among the peoples, have been living during the last four years in the gloom of famine. They have caused us, more than any one else, to suffer by hunger . . . (censored by the commissioner present at the meeting). Our hunger is that of people eager for instruction. Hunger kills the will and the spirit, and it is just there that the cause of our sufferings is to be found. For to paralyze the will means to abolish public education. To kill the spirit would mean to forbid it seeing the light of truth and the beauty of our national future. We are proud that all the horrors of these four years have not weakened the will nor blinded the spirit. We have labored and we have seen. We have seen the horrors that our people have endured. We have seen the dawn of a new day, which makes us rejoice. We have seen the new light of liberty, and it has awakened our faith. We believe that the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes are a people who have been cutting one another's throats because strife was stirred up among them by artificial means, all to the advantage of our enemies—a fact which has saddened all patriots because it could only bring misfortune upon us all. We believe that democracy must be the only basis of our policy through the spreading of education, the maintenance of the national forces in all quarters, and the awakening of the love of country. We believe that our national ideals will be realised by means of the free disposition of the people, in the way in which it has been set forth in our different national meetings, as in the meetings and declarations of the Croatian and Czech peoples, whose principles we adopt and approve. We promise to instil this faith into the hearts and souls of those who are entrusted to our care, and to open their eyes to the light of truth and goodness. We shall show them that the greatest duty is to love the people. We shall convince them that the greatest national boon is freedom.

Foreign Press

A Democratic Peace Conference

AN unnamed "diplomatist of twenty years' experience" outlines, in two articles in the London *Star* of November 4 and 5, a plan for a peace conference on a democratic basis. The first article develops the thesis "that democratic inspiration could best be got by associating with the conference of diplomats a convention of delegates representative of the leading points of view in the peoples concerned." The second article considers whether such a convention would "work."

One answer is that in the international organization of labor we have had an example of a permanent international institution for a general political purpose that has survived the war, though suspended by it.

Personal experience of the working of such infant internationalism suggests that it is a more reliable agent than a diplomacy in its dotage. For it is a fact that diplomacy still calculates in the simple arithmetic of *real-politik* and cannot yet solve problems with the algebra of popular forces and factors of unknown value. . . .

The two main popular forces now are nationalism and socialism. Both are at present pacific and progressive, but, if denied peace and progress, may at any time again deteriorate into Balkanism or Bolshevism. The problem is to harness these forces quickly and conveniently so that the machinery may first be available in making peace, and thereafter in maintaining it. For this, the initial stage would be a convention, first of Allies, and then of all belligerents, perhaps next month; then, probably next year, a constituent for Europe; finally, a congress of nations.

What countries are to be represented and when?

The convention being set up on a war basis, and its first function peacemaking, the practical principle would be that it should consist initially of Allied delegations, that they should decide when other and what other delegations should be admitted as properly representing countries directly participating in the war or directly affected by the peace. Delegations refused admission to the convention as not qualified might be allowed to appear before its committee.

The principle in deciding how the delegations themselves are to be constituted should be that the various political parties under peace conditions should be proportionately represented, the delegation itself being proportionate to the population and peculiar to each people. The suggested procedure is that each legislature (the result of a general election since the armistice) appoint one delegate per million of its constituent population from a list nominated by its members. Any one receiving a required minimum of nominations would be put on the list, each member having one nomination and one transferable vote.

Such a system of indirect election, while excluding extreme elements, should admit any suitable public personality; but it could not make a mere symposium of panjandrums and placemen. Let us see how it would work.

Elections will shortly be held in the United Kingdom and United States. . . . Our own delegation would consist, presumably, of a pro-Governmental majority and a minority composed of labor, Irish, and other elements. The convention would then decide whether delegations from enemy countries were properly representative, and later whether those from non-belligerent countries were sufficiently concerned.

The effect of this would be to relieve our own Government from dealing with appeals to the conference from Sinn Fein Ireland and Swadeshi India, as with various demands from the Dominions. In the second place, it would discourage any restoration of militarism or any relapse into Bolshevism in our enemies, by reinforcing the moderate middle-class elements and

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by creating confidence in the equity of the settlement; while it would encourage the restoration of constitutionalism in Russia and Turkey as a qualification for admission.

The democratic convention, when fully constituted, would work with the diplomatic conference much as an elective chamber does with an executive Cabinet. The conference would submit proposals to the convention for debate and discussion in special committees, which would revise and refer back to the convention; which would vote and report to the conference. Plenipotentiaries to the conference could address the convention, and any approved person could address the committees. If an insoluble issue arose it might be referred to the constituent legislatures.

But there need be no fear as to the working of such machinery, because its atmosphere would be that of the common interests of countries and the social solidarity of Europe. It would be concerned with the fundamental interests of property and the proletariat, with vital questions of feeding, clothing, and housing, and would see in their proper perspective imperialist and nationalist problems to which an atmosphere of war and profiteering has given undue prominence.

Moreover, a diplomacy by open debate will set free our Anglo-Saxon representatives from the warping pressure of interests and intrigues.

We British taught the world national self-government. Is it to learn international self-government from the Bolshevists? For the choice now lies between an international convention of constitutionalists in which we shall lead, and an international Soviet of Socialists with ourselves omitted.

What is "Enemy" Shipping?

Mr. A. F. Whyte, M.P., in an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London) of November 13, takes issue with Mr. H. M. Cleminson, of the Chamber of Shipping, who in a letter to the *Times* accused the *New Europe* of "weak-minded sentimentalism" in pointing out that "there is a distinction between ships owned by Austrian-Germans and those owned by Serbo-Croat companies and individuals in Austria and Hungary."

The fundamental question which is raised by Mr. Cleminson is whether those nations and peoples who have hitherto groaned under alien tyrannies shall be made to pay vicariously for the sins of the tyrants who misruled them. Merely to ask such a question is to answer it. We shall be guilty of no such injustice; and no one would even hint it except for an imperfect perception of certain facts. It is a common error, for instance, to call the Czechs and the Southern Slavs Austrians; but it cannot be too often pointed out that they are no more Austrian than I am a brown man because I wear a brown coat. They are Austrian only in the sense that they are—or rather were—the unwilling subjects of a monarch who bore the title Emperor of Austria. To saddle them with the responsibility for his crimes would be just as preposterous and unjust as to punish the Zionists in Palestine for the Turkish massacres in Armenia. And the Allied Governments have so clearly understood the principle involved that they have actually acclaimed as Allies those very friendly enemies of whom Mr. Cleminson thinks he has heard too much. . . . The Czecho-Slovaks and the Southern Slavs are our Allies, not merely because they have given us the welcome military assistance of several divisions on the western, Italian, and Macedonian fronts, but because their war aims are our war aims and their hopes are bound up with ours. That being so, it is not sentiment but justice which demands that they shall be treated as real friends, though in a technical sense they are alien enemies. And since our Governments have given ample pledges of their intention to succour these peoples in every possible way, I do not think that Mr. Cleminson is likely to have his way.

Lest there should be any doubt in the matter, let me briefly recapitulate the relevant facts. The merchant navy of Austria-Hungary consists of two quite distinct categories: (a) ships belonging to Germans or Magyars; (b) ships belonging to Slav owners. The Austrian-Lloyd, Austro-Americana, the Adria, and some other lines are German property, and will fall within the scope of a ton for ton policy. The Ungaro-Croata, the Dalmatia, the Ragusea, and others are owned and manned by Southern Slavs and cannot, therefore, be placed on all fours with real enemy property. The *New Europe*, in emphasizing this distinction, pointed out—in a passage omitted by Mr. Cleminson—that "owing to the shipping regulations of the Dual Monarchy all vessels have to be registered at Trieste or at Fiume, but this does not alter the fact that, roughly, 175,000 tons belong to Dalmatian-Slav owners and another 60,000 tons to Croatia." The policy dictated alike by justice to our small Slav Allies and by an enlightened view of our own interests must follow the lines of this distinction; and, even if the entire shipping of enemy countries is requisitioned for use by the Allies for common purposes pending the final settlement, the merchant fleet belonging to Southern Slav owners ought to be specially devoted to the revictualling of those portions of Jugoslav territory whose communications lie mainly on the sea. We have great obligations to discharge to all those little peoples who have acclaimed us as their champions, and the least we can do is to see that our policy towards them is guided by the fullest knowledge of local facts and local needs.

A Peace of Justice

LORD ROBERT CECIL, speaking at a meeting of American editors in London on November 5, concluded his address with a plea for a peace of justice.

Broadly speaking, two courses are before us. There are many of us who feel that after all these sacrifices that we have been through, surely the great thing is to take care that we come out of the war stronger and more powerful than we went in; that the great thing is to crush and destroy our adversaries, to see to it that they can never rise again, and to achieve other results for advantage—in a word, to act upon the ancient motto, *vae victis*. But there is another aspect. I am not at all clear how far it will lead to a different actual result from this, a different point of view—and that is, that the great thing that we have to achieve as the result of the war is a just and lasting settlement. That we must put before us as the thing which we want to set out in the new order of things—a peace which will not lead us after a lapse of some years into a disaster such as we have been going through. If so be—I do not know—that a just and lasting settlement requires from any one of the combatants self-control, even renunciation, we must be ready to face it. We seek only justice. We came into the war without any hope of gain, without any looking forward to any increase of power. We came into it to avenge the grossest outrage of international justice that has ever been attempted. We must take care that we keep our banner clear from any blot and carry it high till the end of this struggle. After all, if we look at it from the merest selfish point of view, a lasting peace is the greatest interest of both England and America; and if we have a lasting peace, it must have as its great foundation justice, and upon that let us erect a superstructure of a new international order—an order of international relations which will ensure to the least as to the greatest, justice and consideration, which will make certain the sanctity of treaties, which will substitute international coöperation for international competition, which will really, at any rate, plant the seed of a new system which may be, perchance, a blessing to those who come after us.

It is not an easy task. We talk lightly of a league of nations, some of us, and I am not sure that all those who talk about it have really considered what it means. We have to reconcile two principles, both entitled to our warmest support—national

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sovereignty and international coöperation. Believe me, only those who have tried in detail to reconcile those principles know the difficulties that there are. But that we ought to try, that we ought to set up some system of that kind, that we ought to establish it as a guarantee for our descendants against the evils we have been through, no one who is neither a lunatic nor an imbecile can doubt. We have to do something, and let us approach the task in the right spirit. Let us cast aside as far as we can selfish aims, selfish ambitions, and selfish aspirations, and approach this task in that spirit and with those desires, and I doubt not we may bring it to a successful conclusion.

The Freedom of the Seas

THE *Christian World* (London) thinks that Englishmen should look with more approval upon Mr. Wilson's statements about the freedom of the seas.

Some uneasiness is being expressed by those who seem not to want peace on President Wilson's terms about what is called "freedom of the seas." It would be well if these people would remember, first of all why America is in the war, and, secondly, that the phrase "freedom of the seas" has for us, as an island nation, a meaning now quite different from what it had at the beginning of the war. At that time nobody had ever dreamt that any nation would be so brutal as to use submarines for the sinking of peaceful merchantmen. Such use of the submarine has given an entirely new meaning to "freedom of the seas." We notice with some surprise that Mr. Macpherson, the Deputy Secretary of State for War, has been saying that this country could never consent to the "freedom of the seas." Well, freedom of the seas is much more important to this country now than to any other, because of the submarine, the weapon of the weaker naval Power against the maritime mercantile Power with a strong navy. It was the submarine and its action against merchantmen that brought President Wilson to the view that America must go to war. It would be well for people, even Deputy Secretaries of State, to try to see things in their right perspective and to take note of the lessons that war has taught. Mr. Wilson asks for freedom of the seas in peace and war, except in so far as the seas are closed by international action. If we are sincere in our desire for a league of nations, which governs all the fourteen points, there is nothing to which we can reasonably object in President Wilson's condition. If, under the league of nations, blockade, except international blockade, is prohibited, submarine destruction of merchant ships will be prohibited too.

Belgium's War Bill

THE following letter to the editor is published in the *Westminster Gazette* (London) of November 5.

Many fancy and unauthorized statements having recently appeared in the press regarding Belgium's war bill, we would feel obliged if you would allow us the following remarks.

Nobody knows yet to what extent Belgium has suffered or may be devastated at the end of the war, nor when the country will be finally evacuated or liberated. All estimates, under whatever heading, are therefore premature. Anyhow, here are a few interesting figures:

An M. P. in the occupied country put the material damages, at the beginning of this year, at £320,000,000.

War levies amount to £130,000,000, fines and extortions not included.

Public debt has increased during the war by £160,000,000.

Direct losses in wages, salaries, and income through unemployment, work-stoppage, and the general paralysis of most activities, have been calculated at between £120,000,000 and £160,000,000 per year, i.e., about £600,000,000 to date.

One or two additional years after peace is declared—possibly more—will be required to enable Belgium to resume her industrial and commercial activity.

Losses in goodwill, business relations, trade customers abroad, systematically and revengefully provoked by the enemy, can never be compensated in full.

Requisitions of raw material, stores, home comforts, livestock, machinery, tools, and sundry thefts cannot yet be determined. In June, 1915, about £50,000,000 of goods had not been paid for, according to a German statement.

War pensions to widows, orphans, invalids, maimed and wounded, will likely exceed £3,000,000 per year, or £100,000,000 in capital.

Indemnities to deported civilians and to relatives of executed patriots cannot yet be appreciated.

These are some of the items of Belgium's bill. There are many others, such as railways, roads, bridges, etc., etc.

Trusting that you will consider it useful to guide public opinion by inserting the above, we are, yours faithfully,

Fédération Nationale Belge
The President, Germain Spee.
The Secretary, A. De Groote.

An Interview with Herr Ebert

THE following interview with Herr Ebert, sent out by German wireless on the 18th, was published in the British War Office *Daily Review of the Foreign Press* on the 20th. The *Nation* is informed that Mr. Borsodi, whose name is signed to the dispatch, is not an accredited representative of the *Times*, and that the interview was not received by that paper.

The Chancellor has been informed that the New York *Times*, whose proprietor is born of German parentage, had waged a most bitter warfare against Germany from the very beginning of the war, chiefly for the reason that this metropolitan daily, like many other American papers, feared that a German victory would lead to a weakening of democratic principles throughout the entire world. Herr Ebert expressed the hope that now that this fear had been obviated forever, through the terrible sacrifices and heroic uprising of the German people, there would be no further grounds for suspicion, and that the democratically-minded press in America and in all other enemy lands would assume a friendly attitude towards the German people in this their most terrible crisis.

In answer to my remark that it was generally believed that the present Government would, under all circumstances, insist on establishing a Socialist Republic, and my inquiry whether the Chancellor, his colleagues, and his friends recognized the decisive rights of the majorities under the term of "government by the people," Herr Ebert replied:

"I believe, and always have believed, like your own President Lincoln, in government of, for, and by the people." (He placed special emphasis on the word "for.") "It will be seen in America and everywhere else, and here, that our actions will speak louder than our words—that this great work which we have taken up in so earnest a spirit will be carried on in the most thorough and energetic manner. Whatever sections of the German people may not yet be imbued with democratic tenets will become so in due course. We are a people who deliberate slowly. All that has occurred, so to speak, in a single night, is the result of long years of systematic toil and thought. You must have seen that in the marvels which have taken place during these last few days. Every man knew how great an issue was at stake; every man knew what he was called upon to do. We may not be swift in decision; nevertheless, we are a law-abiding people, with a passionate love of justice. No popular government is eternal, and, therefore, the present German

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Government cannot be so. A popular Government, that is, the men constituting the Cabinet and Ministries, depends upon the will—often the whim—of Parliament; the representatives of the people, like other human beings, do not possess the fixity of the North Star. On the other hand, the popular form of government has become permanent in Germany; the people have declared themselves for freedom as with one voice, since freedom, fortunately, may be said to be infectious. There were millions of German people who were loyal to the Kaiser chiefly because they felt it was part of their civic duty, their legal pledge. Thanks to the men who form the present German Government, the men in power, there is no longer any citizen loyal to the Kaiser; indeed, how few were they who sought to sacrifice their lives for his sake!

"The men of the present Government form the Government of the entire German people. We still hold the mandates of the Socialist party, and we have every opportunity to fight for our principles and our political faith. It is precisely because we believe in the sovereign rights of the people that we shall continue to further our principles and political faith without violating the great and common task of building up an order of the world in which the class that produces the prosperity of a country shall not be a disinherited class. This just thought will triumph everywhere—that is, everywhere where real democratic government exists. Nowhere will this equitable principle find a more universal acceptance than with the German people, and therefore the German Republic, not only by the number of its inhabitants, will become, after the American, the greatest republic in the world.

"At present, however, it is a question of food, a question which is, to a certain extent, also active among our former opponents. Your President appears to entertain the proper views in this matter. Hunger would not contribute to our strength, nor help us to build up the democracy we have battled for under such difficulties, nor help us, if it be necessary, to fight for its existence.

"It is of particular importance that the young German Republic be properly understood by the American people and their President. We agree that this will come to pass the more easily since many of the ideas of President Wilson, and, therefore, of the American people, coincide entirely with the ideas which have inspired the German Republic and have created its Government, and which will continue to control them both. The demand for a peace of right and justice, of the right of self-determination of the peoples, of the sovereignty of the people over their own country, and of the organization of a league of nations, constitute an essential part of the programme of the present Government. We are conscious of the fact that this programme can be realized only upon the basis of that order which the peoples give to themselves and to each other. In order that we may be enabled to carry through our democratic political programme in Germany, the question of feeding the people, which is the fundament of every living state, becomes an absolute preliminary condition for the continued existence of the German Republic of the people. We were therefore pleased to observe how thoroughly the President of the United States realized the importance of this preliminary condition in promising us efficient help in this matter, a promise which we are about to see realized almost immediately.

"I trust, Sir, that you will convey through the New York *Times* our thanks to the President and the American people. Let us hope that, after a just peace has been established, common ideals will permit of working at common tasks for the welfare of the American and German people, and for the benefit of all humanity."

The Chancellor likewise expressed his gratification that several American correspondents are already on the way to Berlin. He said they would enjoy an opportunity of observing the prevailing conditions with their own eyes, and of reporting true developments, from day to day, to the American people.

I may say that this is the only interview given to an American newspaper by the man who is destined to be the last Chancellor of Germany. For the men in power have already decided that the office of Chancellor is to be abolished for all time.

I send my regards from the enemy's land, whose people during the last two years were enemies of the American people.

BORSODI

Hotel Adler, Berlin.

To the New York *Times*, New York.

Safeguarding German Democracy

THE news that "Germany is henceforth with the free democracies of the world, or, at least, is preparing to join their company," is made the occasion by the *New Age* (London) of a warning respecting Allied policy.

At this moment of satisfaction it is necessary for democrats everywhere to renew the pledge they have always made to themselves that Germany shall not suffer more from her democratization than she would have been made to suffer had she remained militarist. That there are forces in the Allied countries which will be disposed to regard the democratization of Germany as a fresh offence, to be expiated by additional punishment, we are all well aware. And it is therefore the duty of democrats to redouble their efforts, and to insist upon making Germany as well as the rest of the world "safe for democracy." . . . There should be no reluctance in receiving the returning prodigal son of Europe; but the peoples should go out to meet him.

A Turkish Ministerial Policy

THE following outline of the programme of the Turkish Government, read by the Grand Vizier, Izzet Pasha, at the first appearance of the new Cabinet in the Chamber of Deputies, was transmitted in a Constantinople dispatch of October 19 *viâ* Amsterdam. It is here reprinted from the *Yorkshire Post* (Leeds) of October 26. The armistice with Turkey was announced on October 31.

The Government has undertaken office at a critical moment of our history, since our country is confronted by enormous difficulties at home and by dangers abroad, and it is conscious of the importance of the task that awaits it, as well as the degree of its responsibility, with regard to which history will pass judgment. The organism of the Fatherland which has, during the past eight years, suffered from all kinds of disturbances, of both an internal and a foreign nature, and which has sustained many shocks, at last needs repose. The self-sacrificing nation, which took upon itself the most painful privations during four fearful years of war—privations such as no people could have easily borne—at length requires rest. Our sole duty at present is to meet this requirement. In order to fulfil this duty, we will, with the help of the Almighty, make every effort to show the utmost zeal. We have resolved, according as circumstances permit, to cause to be sent home those countrymen who, in consequence of the necessities arising from the war, have been moved from one place to another within the country, and we have already begun to carry out this decision. The movable and fixed property of these children of the Fatherland who, for a year or two, have borne fearful sufferings, will be restored, and compensation for goods and chattels which have been sold will be given them. We have resolved to restore liberty to those who have been banished by orders of the military administration, and to send communications in this sense to the vilayets.

We have prepared a bill which we shall submit to you, concerning a general amnesty for those condemned for political offences. The weal of the country and the tranquillity and happiness of the nation are anchored solely in obedience to the law

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and in punishment for those who infringe it. We will abolish every inequality, injustice, and irresponsibility, because they disturb the business of administration, and will see to it that all enjoy in equal degree political rights and freedom of development, and in every way participate in the country's administration. We will propose the necessary changes in our present electoral laws in order to protect the rights of minorities. With regard to Arab vilayets, we will try to solve this question, assuring to them self-government corresponding to their national aspirations, on condition that the tie between them and the Khalifate, as well as the Sultan, is maintained.

The Future of Palestine

PALESTINE, the organ of the British Palestine Committee, discussing the fundamental principles which must govern the peace settlement so far as Palestine is concerned, lays down as a preliminary condition that "the Jewish people, as such, must be formally represented at the peace conference, and its voice heard in relation to Palestine." The peace conference of 1918-1919 will be inspired by a different purpose from that of the re-settlement of Europe after the Napoleonic wars, and will move to a different end. Its aim will be to achieve, not a balance of power as between a few great states, nor yet the satisfaction of imperialistic appetites, but justice and contentment to the nations. "It is now the policy of all the belligerents that Palestine is to be the national home of the Jewish people, that it is to be a Jewish Palestine. This policy was laid down by the Allies and accepted by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey when they accepted President Wilson's terms." It is also pointed out that "a Jewish Palestine must be an integral Palestine, and it must be adequate in area and potentialities to its mission." Arguments are adduced against any partition of the country and against any form of joint sovereignty or any kind of condominium. "The peace conference will have to designate the sovereignty and the sovereignty will have to draft the scheme of administration. . . . The Zionists of the Allied and neutral countries will pronounce for a British sovereignty over Palestine, for a British trustee of a Jewish Palestine."

Camouflage or Reaction?

IN its issue of November 15, *L'Humanité* (Paris) comments as follows on the news from Germany.

Two emperors, three kings, four or five grand dukes, and three princes have fled. Revolutionists by hundreds of thousands fill the streets of Berlin and other cities. The red flag is floating over the imperial and royal palaces. Councils of workingmen and soldiers, as in Russia, and committees of public safety, are acting everywhere in favor of a republic. Mackensen's soldiers refuse to obey orders and acclaim the revolution; those at Berlin throw their rifles and machine-guns into the river. The people's commissaries at Berlin demand a high court to try those who are responsible for the war; the Minority Socialist, Haase, is Minister of Foreign Affairs for Germany; everywhere working-class and Socialist governments are being installed.

According to our capitalist press all this is "camouflage"; it is "comedy"; the Germans "are covering their militarism with a Bolshevist veil." Immeasurable stupidities regarding this revolutionary drama are displayed more and more by the press of our bankers, war manufacturers, and *nouveaux riches*. Some show a fear of contagion. To-day the *Matin* wrote tranquilly: "Let us avoid the formation of a Bolshevist *bloc* in the centre of Europe. To prevent it, let us erect a barrier between Russia and Germany. *Let us send an army to Dantzig.*"

Assuredly Lloyd George was right when he said yesterday, in his speech to the English Liberal party: "I do not fear revolution. I do not fear Bolshevism. It is reaction that I fear."

Notes

THE growing interest in Great Britain in the idea of industrial self-government through joint standing councils of employers and employees has resulted in the formation of the Industrial Reconstruction Council. Although an unofficial body, the Council is coöperating actively with various Government departments with a view to the establishment of joint industrial councils in all trades. Ultimately, the Council hopes to bring about complete organization on the side both of employers and of employees, with elected "trade parliaments" to deal with problems of management and industrial relations.

THE British Labor party, with some 300 parliamentary candidates in the general election now in progress, has made its campaign on a platform of thorough-going social reorganization. A published summary of the more important provisions of the platform includes a special tax on capital; free trade; no tariffs; immediate nationalization of all lands; immediate nationalization of vital public service systems; better housing conditions; free public education; freedom for Ireland and India; "hands off" democracy, with immediate withdrawal of troops from Russia; no conscription; equal rights for women; a peace of reconciliation, with no secret diplomacy and no economic war; the charter of labor to be incorporated in the principles of a league of free peoples.

A GENERAL elections manifesto has been issued by the standing committee of Sinn Fein reaffirming the determination of the party to achieve an independent Irish republic. The methods by which the party proposes to accomplish this result are declared to be: "1. By withdrawing the Irish representation from the British Parliament and by denying the right and opposing the will of the British Government to legislate for Ireland. 2. By the establishment of a constituent assembly, comprising persons chosen by Irish constituencies as the supreme national authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people, and to develop Ireland's social, political and industrial life for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland. 3. By appealing to the peace conference for the establishment of Ireland as an independent nation." The manifesto states that Sinn Fein will oppose at the polls every candidate who does not subscribe to its principles.

A RECENT conference of the central committees of the National Party of South Africa adopted resolutions demanding for South Africa "complete freedom and independence, including the right to choose its own form of government." This demand, it is stated, is based upon the declarations made by Allied leaders during the war, "in particular by Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, that all violations of right and freedom of peoples be restored, that all nationalities shall have the right to choose their own destiny, and that no people be at any time compelled to continue to exist as a subject nation against their own desires."

THE defeat of the Federal Labor party in Australia at the last elections served greatly to strengthen the industrial unionist wing of the labor movement, which for some months past has been actively trying to swing the whole body of organized labor to the support of the "one big union" idea. The power of labor in Australia adds importance to the fact that the unions of New South Wales are already in process of reorganization on an industrial basis with the support of a majority of the most powerful labor bodies of that State. The same question has for some time been under consideration in Victoria, where a certain amount of opposition appears to have developed. A Sydney correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* reports that a conference of Victorian unions will be held soon to

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consider the plan. If the conference accepts the "one big union" idea, the writer thinks that "the formation of a huge industrial organization in Australia on the lines advocated by the I. W. W. . . . will be practically assured, for the other States will quite surely follow the Victorian lead."

AN agreement between the Egyptian Government and Greece regarding the nationality of native Greeks resident in Egypt has recently been published at Cairo. The Egyptian Government will hereafter recognize as Greek subjects natives of the new Greek provinces who had settled in Egypt or had chosen Hellenic nationality according to the Treaty of Athens of November 14, 1913, or who have demanded of the Greek consular authorities recognition as Hellenic subjects. According to the terms of the agreement natives of Imbos, Tenedos, and Castellorizo are excluded, as are natives of the islands occupied by Allied Powers other than Great Britain, *e. g.*, the Dodecanesos. A further provision declares that the Government of Egypt "is ready to recognize as Hellenic subjects individuals of Greek origin but of local status who have joined or shall join as volunteers the Greek army or any Allied army, provided that in 1917 they had placed themselves under the protection of the General commanding the British forces in Egypt."

IN response to a request from a committee of engineers, the Spanish Government has given permission to the Spanish Institute of Civil Engineers to convene a national engineering congress in the spring of 1919, for the study of problems arising from the war in connection with production, foreign trade, and domestic consumption. Among the subjects to be considered are public works and transportation, naval construction, mining, physical, and chemical industries, agriculture, forestry, technical instruction, the organization of labor, and industrial economy and legislation.

THE decree of the Bolshevik Government separating church and state has been anulled by the Provisional Government of the North, according to an Archangel dispatch of November 30. The final settlement of the question was, however, left open until the meeting of an all-Russian legislative body. Meanwhile, the expenses of maintaining churches and other religious establishments will be met by the various religious corporations.

A DECREE of the Central Executive Committee of the soviets of Russia, adopted October 30, provides for an extraordinary tax of 10,000,000,000 rubles, "to be imposed on the well-to-do classes of the urban and rural population," and payable not later than December 15. Persons earning a maximum of 1,500 rubles a month, and possessing no other resources, are exempted from the tax, as are also nationalized or municipalized establishments, coöperative food organizations, and agricultural communes. The Committees of the Poor and the urban and rural Soviets are to draw up lists of the persons to be taxed, and the amount of taxation is to be determined in accordance with the material position of such persons, the poor being entirely exempted and the middle class taxed moderately, while the chief burden will fall upon the rich peasants and the rich citizens of the towns. About one-fifth of the tax will be paid by Moscow.

ACCORDING to a Moscow dispatch of October 18, the Government of the Georgian Republic, in Transcaucasia, was at that time in control of the Mensheviks, who, however, were divided among themselves. One faction, supported by the newspaper *Borjba*, inclined to favor Germany, while the other favored Russia. The latter, characterized as the opposition party, has for its newspaper organ the *Sozial-Demokrat*, and the two papers carry on a bitter polemic. The Social Revolutionaries have also taken a position of extreme opposition to the Government, and their newspaper organ has been suppressed. The so-called Daschnakzakany and the Social Revolutionaries are each divided into two camps, the Right and the Left, the Left wing of the Daschnakzakany supporting the Soviet Government. The Bolsheviki, who have a semi-weekly organ, the *Bjuleten*, are reported to be very active.

IN reply to the note received from the French Government, on November 15, announcing that France would not recognize a Government in Finland which was headed by a king chosen from a nation at war with France, the Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs has denied that the choice of a king was dictated by Germany. Prince Karl, according to the statement of the Minister, was offered the throne voluntarily with no nomination from Germany. The statement also denies that Finland was occupied by German forces or subjected to foreign rule. "International law," the Minister concludes, "knows no stipulation which prevents neutral states from selecting a dynasty from a belligerent nation."

WITH the purpose of assisting in "the development of Siberia," the Japanese Economic Relief Commission has announced its intention of forming a corporation "to obtain mining and forest concessions from the Russian authorities and exploit the natural resources in Siberia." Shares will be subscribed by the Manchurian Railway, the Eastern Asia Industry Company, the Sino-Japanese Commercial Corporation, and other interests.

THE League of Small and Subject Nationalities is to hold a congress at New York, December 14-15, to consider the problem of securing fair representation for the small and suppressed nations in any world league that may be formed. Separate deliberative representation at the peace conference, particularly at those sessions at which plans for a league of nations are to be discussed, will, it is announced, be demanded. African, Albanian, Assyrian, Danish, Finnish, Greek, Hebrew, Indian, Irish, Korean, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Scotch, and Ukrainian organizations will be represented.

THE difficulties in the way of any organization which attempts to represent the interests of the oppressed peoples of Central Europe are illustrated by the recent withdrawal of two national units from the Democratic Mid-European Union. The Polish National Committee recently withdrew as a protest against the admission of the Ukrainians, who were declared to be at war with the Polish people. On November 23 the Jugoslav National Council also resigned, on the ground that the interests of the Jugoslavs were not being safeguarded against "the imperialistic claims of Italy."

AN interesting programme has been announced for the commercial congress which is to be held at Montevideo, January 29-February 5, under the auspices of the Uraguayan Government. Questions of commercial education and expansion, particularly those connected with the trade and development of the American continents, will be discussed. Leading industrial and financial experts and directors of technical and commercial institutions have been appointed by the Government as delegates.

Contributors to This Issue

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